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AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND,

FROM THE

FIRST INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

AMONG THE IRISH,

TO

THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

COMPILED

FROM THE WORKS OF THE MOST ESTEEMED AUTHORS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, WHO HAVE WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED ON MATTERS CONNECTED WITH

THE IRISH CHURCH;

AND FROM IRISH ANNALS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS,

STILL EXISTING IN MANUSCRIPT.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND,

&c. &c.

PREFACE.

IN these times, when a laudable spirit of research pervades almost every civilized people of the globe, and that the histories of the most remote nations, as well barbarous as polite, are sought after with an extraordinary degree of curiosity, and read with proportionate avidity, the publication of an ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF IRELAND must be considered as a useful undertaking, from which much interesting information on the ancient state of the Christian church may be collected. The frigid apathy, however, with which the generality of Irish readers slur over every publication that treats of the ancient state of their native country, might be sufficient to deter an author from an enterprize of that nature; but although discouraging such an unpatriotic feeling as exhibits itself in the great bulk of our countrymen must be, there are still several learned and investigating gentlemen amongst our compatriots, as well as in the Sister Island, and on the Continent, by whom such a work has been long and anxiously desiderated, and from whom a liberal encouragement may, therefore, be reasonably expected.

When the long established character of Ireland for literature and sanctity is called into remembrance, when the great respectability of the ancient Irish Church is considered, and when we bring to our recollection the numerous places in the Continent to which she has sent her missionaries, who, with the most ardent charity, unceasing labours and fearless courage, have taught the use of letters, disseminated the saving truths of the Gospel, and triumphantly planted the banner of the Cross amidst barbarous and pagan nations, it must be a matter of surprise that her history should remain unwritten for the long period of 1400 years. Yet such is the fact, no connected history of the Irish Church has been hitherto published, although an abundance of materials for that purpose are still in existence; notwithstanding that the devastating hand of barbarism has been unsparingly engaged in the overthrow of our literary establishments, and in the destruction of our ancient records, the monuments of our nation's glory. These documents are, however, widely scattered, and are principally to be found in the decrees of synods and councils, the bulls and briefs of the popes, the rules of our ancient monks, the epistles of bishops, the registries of our churches, the annals of the nation, and the lives of our saints. Of these materials, some have been published through the medium of the press, by Colgan, Fleming, Wadding, Usher, Ward, Ware, Burke, and others; and their respective editions have been enriched by copious notes and illustrations. Others, principally written in Irish, containing matters of the utmost importance

to our national history, and tending to elucidate the history and antiquities of various Celtic nations, are, for want of proper encouragement to translate and publish them, still suffered to remain in manuscript, a prey to moths and vermin, and must in a few years more, unless timely care be taken to prevent it, become irrecoverably lost to the world.

Of those books that have been published, that treat of things connected with the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, the greater part have long since become scarce, are now only to be found in the libraries of Colleges, and in the collections of the curious, and therefore not accessible to the public in general. Besides this, being mostly in the Latin language, they are not accommodated to a large proportion of readers; and no one has hitherto undertaken to arrange them in a continued chronological series, so as to connect them with the general history of the whole Christian Church, or to embody them in one united whole, in the regular form of an Ecclesiastical History.

In the civil histories of Ireland that have been written by Keating, Mac Geoghegan, O'Halloran, and others, little of our Ecclesiastical History is to be found, beyond a few detached anecdotes, in great part fabulous, destitute of chronological accuracy, and often contradictory.

Usher, indeed, has collected much excellent materials for the history of the earliest times of our national Church, to the latter end of the sixth century, in which he was greatly assisted by valuable communications from David Rooth, R. C. bishop of

Ossory, for which he repeatedly returns him thanks in various places of his Primordia.

In the accounts of the Irish bishops, published by Ware and Harris, much useful information is also to be found, although in the additions of the latter frequent errors and inaccuracies occur, on which, for the sake of truth, it was found necessary, in the course of the following work, to make some observations. The writers of the Irish Monasticons have also furnished some materials for an Ecclesiastical History of the country, but great caution must be observed in using them, as they frequently abound in error, particularly Archdall, who converts into monasteries all the churches founded by St. Patrick and our earliest native Saints, is often inaccurate in his chronologies, and frequently confounds persons and places with each other that are totally different.

The book, miscalled Antiquities of Ireland, published by Dr. Ledwich, would, from its title, lead one to suppose that some information on this subject might be obtained from it; but upon examination it will be found to contain a studied misrepresentation of our ancient history, that some of our earliest Saints, of whose existence no doubt can be entertained, are by him attempted to be annihilated, that by the magical effects of his pen he labours to transform St. Senan into a river, St. Kevin into a rock, and St. Patrick, the great Apostle of our nation, into a nonentity. The reputation which this book has obtained with a particular class of readers and authors, who wish to degrade the Irish below the level of the most barbarous nations, called for par-

ticular notice and animadversion, in a work like this, now offered to the public; and if in the course of the observations made on the errors, misrepresentations, and ignorance of its writer, some asperity of language is indulged, the apology is more due to the reader than to the author of such palpably malevolent falsehoods.

In a regular and comprehensive Ecclesiastical History of Ireland there are numberless subjects that require to be treated of, with copiousness, precision, and accuracy. To render the work now offered to the public a book of that description, the author has, with the labour and close application of several years, collected not only every tract and document that he could meet with, written upon the subject of our Church History in Ireland, or by Irishmen, but also the works of numberless British and Continental writers, many of whom are of the first respectability; such as the venerable Bede, the Benedictines, Bollandists, the collectors of German history, Canisius, Muratori, Ughelli, &c. &c. who occasionally, and often largely, have discussed matters belonging to Irish ecclesiastical history, and treated of the very many ancient Irish saints and doctors, who, for several successive ages, continued to instruct and enlighten other nations.

To Muratori we are indebted for making public, in the 13th vol. of his works, printed at Arrezzo in 1771, a very ancient manuscript in Irish characters, which puts beyond dispute the existence of St. Patrick. This is the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*,

written in the 7th century, and originally belonged to the monastery of Bangor, in the now county of Down, whence it was removed to the monastery of Bobio in Italy, in the library of which latter place it was discovered by Cardinal F. Borromeo, and from which it was afterwards transferred to the Ambrosian library at Milan, where it is now to be found, No. X. Letter C. This curious and authentic document was shewn by Muratori to Montfaucon, a competent judge of ancient manuscripts, who, after the closest inspection, pronounced it to be *above a thousand years old*, and rejoiced that at length the existence of St. Patrick, and the reality of his mission to Ireland, was placed beyond the reach of controversy.

To render the account of illustrious Irishmen, presented in the following work, by far more copious and more accurate than any that has hitherto appeared, no enquiry has been neglected, and no pains have been spared. The mistakes of Colgan, Usher, Ware, and still more, those of Harris, together with the numberless errors of the authors of our Monasticons, have been carefully corrected. The most anxious endeavours have been used that nothing should be omitted that could tend to illustrate our ecclesiastical history, and render it as respectable and worthy of attention as it really is. Care has been taken that every thing essential and authentic belonging to it, in the great variety of works which have been consulted for this purpose, shall be found concentrated and arranged in a strict chronological series, commencing from the earliest

records of Christianity in Ireland, and continued down to the beginning of the thirteenth century, the period at which it is found expedient to conclude the present work.

The existence of St. Patrick having been denied, for the purpose of shewing that the Church of Ireland, in its commencement, had no connection with the Church of Rome, and the acts attributed to our Apostle consequently condemned as forgeries, it was necessary to prove the existence of the one, of which, in reality, very few have entertained a doubt, and to clear up and exhibit the other, divested of many fabulous and strange appendages, by which they have been obscured; and to shew that the Christian doctrine, first preached to the Irish at their conversion from Paganism, was identically the same as that taught at Rome, and in all the churches in communion with the Holy See. For the existence of the saint, authorities the most unequivocal, both foreign and domestic, have been produced, which the most sceptical will hardly deny to be convincing; and for the unity between the Church of Ireland and that of the Church of Rome, it is shown that the doctrine and discipline of the Irish Church has run on in an uninterrupted course for several successive ages, during which she never substantially deviated from the rules and practices of the Catholic Church, which acknowledges the See of Rome, and the Pope as its visible head. It is true, indeed, that in the Irish Church some peculiarities have existed, relative to its liturgy, the

administration of the sacraments, the system of its hierarchy and monastic institutions, its matrimonial regulations, and the mode of providing for the clergy; the nature of all which the author has taken much pains to amply discuss and explain. This he conceived to be particularly necessary, as it has been a practice of long continuance, with a certain class of authors, to labour with all their might to impress the world with an opinion that the Irish were in a stage of savage barbarism before the arrival of the English.

Whether the Irish character has been improved or debased by a connection with England, is a subject the author conceives to be not within the province of a writer of ecclesiastical history to discuss; but he hopes that in the practice of the Irish Church, which he has faithfully exhibited in the course of the following pages, will be found a complete refutation of these slanderers of the Irish character, and villifiers of the ancient religion of the *Island of Saints*.

The great quantities of misrepresentation and error respecting the *Kelidei* or Culdees, that have been published by Toland, amongst our native writers, and by Jamieson, Smith and others, amongst those of Scotland, made a particular enquiry into, and accurate description of the office and duties of that order of ecclesiastics peculiarly necessary. To place this subject in a clear point of view, a variety of the most authentic documents have been consulted and compared, and the results

fairly stated. On the name, office and duty of the Corbes, Erenachs, &c. a full, and, it is hoped, a satisfactory account has been given. In this work also will be found a complete summary of the many Canons of the ancient Irish Church, which lie dispersed in various volumes, and hitherto inaccessible to the generality of readers. On the early ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland, and on the use of our ancient round towers, which have been long the subjects of investigation among the learned and curious in Irish antiquities, some opinions and conjectures are offered, which may perhaps serve at least to throw some new lights on, if not to give a satisfactory account of, these interesting subjects.

Of the numerous missions and evangelical labours of the Irish preachers of the Christian faith in Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and various other nations of the continent, and of the many monasteries and other religious establishments founded by Irishmen in those countries, a full and accurate account is now presented to the public, deduced from the best authorities, and drawn from the clearest sources of information.

By long study and much reading on the subject of Irish Ecclesiastical history, the author has been completely enabled to detect the untruths and malicious aspersions thrown out against the Irish Church and people, by the false and flimsy Giraldus Cambrensis, and by many others of his followers; particularly those which are found to abound with pe-

culiar malevolence, in the work miscalled "Antiquities of Ireland," published by Doctor Ledwich. All which are here fully exposed and refuted by proofs drawn from the most indubitable authorities, as well foreign as domestic.

On account of the vast number of disquisitions necessary for wiping away the numerous fables, correcting the anachronisms, and overthrowing the misreprentations and calumnies by which our ancient Church history has been darkened, and almost overwhelmed, the greater part of the following work has has been necessarily thrown into notes, placed respectively after each section of the text. By adopting this mode the thread of the historical narrative is preserved entire, which would be otherwise unavoidably interrupted and broken, if such enquiries were inserted in the body of the work.

In the course of this undertaking, several matters relating to Irish Antiquities are explained, which, although not strictly ecclesiastical, could not be well passed over, as they bear some relation to the state of the Church. On this, as on every other occasion, the most approved authors have been consulted, and their opinions fairly stated.

To render this work more generally useful, and for the greater convenience of the reader, a copious general index is subjoined to the last volume, by which every person, place and thing mentioned in it, that are of any importance to the history, may be found in an instant.

In offering this work to the public the author's chief motive is to exhibit a faithful picture of the

doctrine and practice of the ancient Irish Church, and to shew its connexion, at all times, with the universal Church of Christ. To attain so very desirable an object he has spared no pains in the collection and collation of such documents as materially bear upon the subject. And as his principal design was solely directed to the establishment of truth and the overthrow of error, he is conscious of having proceeded to the enquiry divested of all national or religious prejudices. The result of those enquiries, as they presented themselves to his mind, he has fairly and impartially stated, and to the judgment of a discerning public, he now submits them with the most respectful deference.

AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND, &c.

CHAPTER I.

Of Christianity in Ireland, previous to the mission of St. Patrick.

SECT. I.

THE precise time, at which Christianity was originally introduced into Ireland, cannot be ascertained. Nor is it to be wondered at, that, while the first establishment of Christian churches in Britain, Gaul, Spain, and even in many parts of Italy is enveloped in obscurity, a similar inconvenience should affect the ecclesiastical history of an island, to which the arms of the Roman empire had not penetrated, an empire, which had been raised by God for the purpose of contributing to the more easy diffusion of the light of the Gospel. (1) Yet Tertullian informs us, that in his time the name of Christ reigned in places, inhabited by Britons, until then unexplored by the Romans. (2) Eusebius goes still farther back; for he asserts, that some of the Apostles had proceeded beyond the ocean to the islands called *British*, (3) and is followed by Nicephorus in his account of the dispersion of the Apostles. (4) The learned Stillingfleet has laboured hard to show, (5) that St. Paul preached in Britain. Were his argu-

ments of sufficient weight, several of them would tend to prove, that the same Apostle had also visited Ireland. Others, whose testimonies have been collected by Usher, (6) pretend, that St. James the elder announced the Christian faith in Ireland, and even give the names of some of his converts and disciples. We are also told of an Aristobulus, brother of St. Barnabas, preaching together with twelve companions to the Irish in the apostolic age. (7)

(1) "Ut lux veritatis, quæ in omnium gentium revelabatur salutem, efficacius se ab ipso capite (Roma) per totum mundi corpus effunderet." St. Leo, *Serm.* 1. *de Petro et Paulo.* See also Origen *contra Celsum, Lib.* 2. Tillemont, *Histoire des Emper. Tom.* 1. *Art.* 1. and Jos. Zola, *Commentar. De rebus Christ. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. § 2.

(2) "Britannorum *inaccessa Romanis loca*, Christo verò subdita, et Sarmatarum, et Dacorum—in quibus omnibus locis Christi nomen, qui jam venit, regnat." Tertull. *lib. adv. Judæos, cap.* 7. Perhaps it will be said, that Tertullian alluded only to the northern parts of Great Britain beyond Adrian's wall, and to the people properly called Britons, as Stillingfleet maintains, *Antiquities of the British churches, Chap. II.* But it is well known, that the ancients used to speak of Ireland as one of the British islands, and there is an instance of even the name, *Britanni*, being applied to the inhabitants of both. Thus Rufus Festus Avienus—

Hæ numero geminæ, pingues sola, cespitis ampli,
Conditur occidui quà Rheni gurgitis unda,
Dira Britannorum sustentant agmina terris.

See more *ap.* Usher, *De B. E. Primordiis, cap. XVI. p.* 723. I believe then there can be little doubt, that Tertullian had in view also the inhabitants of Ireland. Stillingfleet's object was to refute Dempster and other such fabulous writers, who pretended that Tertullian alluded to a Scottish kingdom as if then existing in N. Britain, and already Christian; a pretension which could be easily overthrown, as undoubtedly there was no establishment of Scots, at least of any note, settled in Britain at that period.

(3) *Dem. Evang. l.* iii. *c.* 7.

(4) *Hist. Eccl.* See Usher, *Pr. p.* 740.

(5) *Antiq. of the Br. churches, chap. I.*

(6) *Pr. p.* 5. § 743. It is very probable, that this story of St. James preaching in Ireland has proceeded from a confusion of *Hibernia* with *Hiberia*, one of the names of Spain, in which country St. James is said to have been.

(7) *Ib. p.* 744.

§. 11. It is very much to the credit of our old annalists and ecclesiastical writers, that none of these uncertain traditions are to be found in their works, and that they never claimed for their country the honour of its having been visited by any of the Apostles, or of their immediate disciples. (8) Whenever Irish Christians are mentioned as having been instructed by the Apostles, it will be invariably found, that they were supposed to have lived in foreign countries, and that the accounts concerning them have originated with foreigners. Thus, to omit St. Beatus, (9) whose memory is celebrated in Switzerland, and who is said to have been a disciple of St. Peter, the name of Mansuetus is famous in Lorraine, who is likewise stated to have been instructed by St. Peter, and to have been sent by him to that country and appointed first bishop of Toul. That a person of that name governed the church of Toul, and that he was an Irishman, cannot indeed be denied, considering the concurrent testimonies of so many authors and the constant tradition of the inhabitants. (10) There is, however, no sufficient authority to prove, that he lived in the times of St. Peter; and it is more than probable, that his mission to Toul did not take place until late in the fourth century, or perhaps about the beginning of the fifth. (11) Nor is he to be confounded (12) with Mansuetus bishop of the Armorican Britons, who assisted at the first council of Tours *A. D.* 461.

(8) The fable concerning a famous Irish champion, Conal Cear-

naigh, having been present at the passion of our Saviour, and of the wrath of an Ulster king on hearing of it (Usher *p.* 739) is very different from those traditions of the apostolic foundation of churches.

(9) Beatus is usually set down as a native of Britain ; but some one having said, that he was baptized *in Scotia*, (Usher *ib. p.* 745) hence it has been assumed that perhaps he was born in Ireland, as in St. Peter's time there was no British *Scotia*. Colgan accordingly ranks him among the Irish saints, *Tr. Th. p.* 750. It would be a waste of time to dwell upon such in every respect uncertain statements.

(10) His memory is highly revered at Toul under the name of St. Mansuy. His Life was written in the tenth century by the abbot Adso, who has some verses prefixed to it beginning thus:

Inclyta Mansueti claris natalibus orti
Progenies titulis fulget in orbe suis.
Insula Christicolas gestabat Hibernia gentes;
Unde genus traxit, et satus inde fuit.

This Life without the verses has been published by Bosquet, *Part* II. and afterwards together with the verses by Calmet, *Hist. Eccl. et Civ. De Lorraine, Tom.* 1. *App. p.* 86 *seqq.* Among these verses I do not find this quotation by Dempster and from him by Usher, *p.* 750, "Protulerat quemdam generosum Scotia natum—Mansuetum." But even admitting it to be genuine, the name, *Scotia*, is clearly explained by *Insula—Hibernia*.

(11) Several churches of Gaul, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Toul, claimed their origin from disciples of the Apostles. The traditions concerning them may be seen in Bosquet, *Historiarum Eccl. Gallic. Part. I.* who has also given in the second part the so called Lives of some of those founders. Thus the church of Treves boasted of Eucharius, that of Metz of Clemens, that of Chalons sur Marne of Memmius, &c. With these and some others Mansuetus is classed as their contemporary and colleague by persons zealous for the honour of the church of Toul. Yet the very learned De Marca, who was a great stickler for those traditions, has not a word about Mansuetus in his *Ep. ad Henr. Vales. de tempore quo primum in Galliis suscepta est Christi fides*, although he expressly mentions Eucharius, Clemens, Memmius. He had, however, before him the works of Bosquet and Usher,

as appears from his letter. According to Adso Ireland was well peopled with Christians in the times that Mansuetus lived—— "Insula Christicolas gestabat Hibernia gentes." Now it cannot be supposed, that such was the state of Ireland in the apostolic age. Calmet in a *Dissertation sur les eveques de Toul*, prefixed to the first vol. of his History of Lorraine, maintains that Mansuetus was sent from Rome to Toul about the middle of the fourth century, as, to omit other arguments of his, he shows from the succession of the bishops of Toul; "1. S. Mansuet, ou Mansuy. 2. S. Amon. 3. S. Alchas. 4. S. Celsin. 5. S. Auspice, vers l'an 450. 6. S. Ours, ou Urse, vers l'an 488. 7. S. Apre, ou Evre, l'an 500," &c. In the little poem prefixed to the Life above mentioned is this distich,

Sedulus *Ausonii* per tempora longa magistri
Obsequio Petri hæsit amore sui.

If by *Ausonii* is to be understood the poet Ausonius, master of St. Paulinus, we should place Mansuetus at a later period, charging however poor Adso with a huge anachronism. But it is more probable that by *Ausonii* he meant *Itali*, particularly as in another verse he has *Ausonias* for *Italas*. As to Mansuetus having been sent by St. Peter, it is easily reconciled with the truth of history, by referring to the well known idiom of using the founder's name for that of the church, over which he had presided; thus *ad S. Petrum*, for to the church of Rome; *a S. Petro*, from or by the said church; *ad S. Martinum*, to the church of Tours; and, what was very common among ourselves, *ad S. Patricium*, *a S. Patricio*, to, or by the see of Armagh. I shall add no more about Mansuetus than that our learned Rothe, notwithstanding his zeal for the honour of Ireland, admits (*Hibernia resurgens*, *p.* 197) the uncertainty of his having been a disciple of St. Peter.

(12) See Bosquet, *Part.* 1. *cap.* 20.

§. III. Descending from the days of the Apostles, we hear of the renowned St. Cataldus bishop of Tarentum, now Taranto, in Italy. The two brothers Moroni, who have written his Life, one in prose and the other in verse, and some other Tarentine writers

would have us believe, that St. Cataldus arrived in Tarentum about the year 160 or 170. (13) But as, not to mention other circumstances, they tell us, that he had publicly taught in the great school of Lismore, which did not exist until 630, (14) it is plain, that his arrival at Tarentum cannot be placed earlier than some time in the seventh century. Even Colgan rejects those statements of the Tarentines after adducing unanswerable arguments to prove, that St. Cataldus did not leave Ireland until after *A. D.* 630, nor perhaps until after 636. (15) The history of this saint shall be given in its proper place. St. Firminus, the first bishop of Amiens, who is said to have suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Diocletian, has been taken by some for a native of Ireland, although the only authentic accounts (16) relative to him positively state, that he was of Pampeluna in Navarre, and son of Firmus a senator of that city. (17) Nor is there much better foundation for supposing, that St. Eliphius, his brother Eucharius, and sisters Menna, Libaria, and Susanna, all of whom, except Menna, are said to have been crowned with martyrdom at or near Toul in the persecution of Julian the apostate, were from Ireland.(18) Without remarking on their names not sounding as Irish, it is not easy to understand, what, admitting even that Eliphius might have left his country to preach the Christian faith, could have induced princesses (for such they are represented to have been) to travel from Ireland in those times as far as Lorraine. About the same period, according to some writers, lived Augulus, bishop, as some say, of London (19) and martyr, who by others is called *Augurius a bishop in Ireland*, without the addition of *martyr*. (20) It would be difficult to reconcile these statements; and I am convinced that, at whatever time Augurius of Ireland lived, he ought not be confounded with the British bishop Augulus or Augulius, as he is constantly

called in the old martyrologies. (21) Equally obscure is the account given of the martyr St. Gunifort, whose memory was celebrated at Pavia on the 22d of August, but now on the 1st of September. He is said to have been of the Scottish (Irish) nation, and of a noble family. It is stated that, having left his country, where a violent persecution was raging against the Christians, he went, together with his brother Gunibald and two sisters, to Germany, whence, after the sisters had suffered martyrdom in that country, the two brothers removed to the North of Italy, where they also sealed their profession with their blood. The time of these transactions is not marked; (22) we do not read of any persecution, at least of a general nature, having raged in Ireland in the early ages of the Church; and the names of these saints appear more like Teutonic or Lombard than Irish ones. (23)

(13) See Usher *p.* 759. (14) Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad An.* 630.

(15) Colgan, *AA. SS.* at VIII. *Mart. p.* 560.

(16) See his Acts in Bosquet, *Part* II.

(17) Usher (*p.* 761 *seqq.*) has with his usual ability cleared up this matter, and exposed the nonsense and lies of that impostor Dempster concerning St. Firminus. It happened that in one or two legendary accounts of this saint *Hibernia* was substituted for *Iliberia* through a mistake, which has often occurred. But the name *Scotia* is not met with, except in Dempster's forgery. Strange that, in De Burgo's (Burke's) *Officia propria sanctorum Hiberniæ, ad 25 Septemb.* Firminus appears as an Irishman, and that even Bosquet, who has quite the reverse, is quoted among the authorities for the account there given of him. This error has been since corrected. See *Note* to *Synopsis Decretorum* at the end of the Supplement to the Breviary for Ireland.

(18) A German writer, P. Merssaeus Cratepolius, quoted by Usher (*p.* 785) says, that Eliphius was *filius regis Scotiæ*, that is, of Ireland. Baronius, (*ad an.* 362) who had before him the Acts of his and his relatives' martyrdom, calls him *Tullensem virum;* and Saussay (*Martyrolog. Gallican.*) makes them

patria Tullenses. But, what is of greater weight, the abbot Rupert, author of the Acts of S. Eliphius *(ap.* Surium, *Tom. 5. ad* 16 *Octob.)* has not a word about *Scotia.* He begins his narrative by stating, that in the time of Julian " florebat—clarissimus vir Eliphius in urbe Tullensi, quæ civitas est Galliarum." He then gives a short account of Eucharius and the three sisters Menna, Libaria, and Susanna, the two latter of whom, as well as Eucharius, also suffered martyrdom. Calmet in the fifth book of his History of Lorraine, where he treats largely of St. Eliphius, &c. does not even hint at Ireland or Scotland. He tells us that some authors make him a native of Soulosse, others of Gran, places not far distant from Toul, and the son of one Baccius of royal blood. He quotes an old inscription at the *Hermitage de St. Euchaire,* which begins thus: " Ex *Catalaunicæ* regia prosapia Baccii et Lientrudis editi sunt nobilissimi sanctique subscripti; videlicet S. Eucharius, S. Eliphius, S. Libaria, S. Susanna;" &c. Calmet is of opinion, that by *Catalaunia* was meant Chalons. The story of Eliphius being the son of a king of Scotia originated in mistaking *Scotia* for *Catalaunia,* or more probably for *Soulosse,* which name was latinized into *Scotia.*

(19) Usher *p.* 169, and after him Colgan *AA. SS. ad* vii *Febr.* where he has Augulus among the Irish saints, understand the *civitas Augusta* in Britain, of which he was bishop, as the same as London. The Bollandists, at said day, doubt of it, as it does not appear, that London was the only city of Britain distinguished by the name of *Augusta.*

(20) See Usher, p. 988, and Colgan *loc. cit.*

(21) The Bollandists, without deciding in what persecution Augulus suffered, or how his being called *Episcopus Hiberniæ,* can be explained, sum up their disquisitions concerning him in these words: " Fuit ergo in Britannia, civitate Augusta, S. Augulus episcopus et martyr. Cætera, quæ e variis adjecta, nil solidæ rationis habent."

(22) Tillemont *(Memoires,* &c. *Tom.* XVI. at *St. Patrice Not.* 1. *on Art.* 1.) observes from Ferrarius, that the history of St. Gunifort was made up at a time when the chief magistrates went in Italy by the name of *Potestas,* (whence the *Podestà* of the cities of Lombardy) and consequently at rather a late period. To this observation may be opposed the well known verse of Juvenal,

X. 100. "An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse *Potestas*;" from which it appears that the word was used in that sense, at least in some places, much sooner than Tillemont imagined. Yet, considering every circumstance, I entertain no doubt that the history of St. Gunifort belongs to a later age than that, of which we are now treating. Dempster's nonsense concerning those saints having suffered martyrdom during the reign of the great and pious Theodosius, and even while he was at Milan, is well exposed by Usher, *p.* 795. Were we to believe Dempster, the name of one of St. Gunifort's sisters was Dardalucha, as he found that a St. Dardalucha or rather Derlugdacha is revered on the 1st of February at Frisingen in Germany. But this saint, who succeeded St. Brigid as abbess of Kildare and died A.D. 524, never left Ireland. (See her Acts in Colgan, *AA. SS.* at 1st February.)

(23) Perhaps the words *Scotica gente*, on which is founded the opinion of those saints having been Scots, have by mistake been substituted for *Scythica* (Scythian) *gente*. As a proof of the probability of such a mistake, there seems to be another in the mention made of a city *Camara* in the North of Italy, where Gunibald is said to have suffered. Usher thought it the same as Como, which, however, was constantly called *Comum* or *Noviocomum*. Could it have been the same as Camariano, a place near the North side of the Po in the ancient Insubria, mentioned by Alberti *(Descrittione di tutta Italia, p.* 394*)*?

§. IV. It is, however, universally admitted, that there were Christian congregations in Ireland before the mission of Palladius, which took place in 431, of which, were there no other proof, the testimony of Prosper forms sufficient evidence. For in his Chronicle at that year he says, that Palladius was sent to the Scots *believing* in Christ, (24) that is, as he informs us elsewhere, (25) to the Scots living in Ireland. But how, or by whom, the Christian faith was first introduced into this country, it is impossible to determine. It would be impertinent to detain the reader with the story of Ireland's conversion having originated

through the means of a Christian woman, by whom an Irish queen was instructed, who in her turn instructed the king, and he his subjects ; (26) whereas the famous transaction of this kind belongs to the history of Iberia (27) a country in Asia lying near the Black sea. Several Scottish writers from old John Fordun down to nearly our own days pretend, that a Donald king of Scotland, and his subjects, embraced christianity in the year 203, having, as some of those writers tell us, been taught by missionaries sent by Pope Victor, to whom Donald had applied for that purpose. (28) But, passing by the anachronism in supposing Victor to have been alive in that year, it is well known at present, that no Scottish kingdom existed at that time in Britain, (29) and, were there any foundation for this fable, it should be referred to Ireland, (30) the *Scotia* of those times, rather than to modern Scotland. Yet we do not pretend to this honour of having received missionaries from Pope Victor, or of having had a christian king at so early a period ; and it is more than probable, that the whole statement was fabricated by some Scotch zealot as a counterpart to the tradition maintained by their southern neighbours of having had a christian king Lucius, who corresponded with Pope Eleutherus before the latter end of the second century.(31)

(24) *Ad Scotos in Christum credentes.* That this is the true reading will appear hereafter, when treating of Palladius.

(25) *De Gratia Dei contra Cassianum ; cap.* 41.

(26) See Hector Boëthius, *Scot. Hist. l.* 6. and others quoted by Usher, *p.* 767. *seqq.*

(27) See Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl. l.* 1. *c.* 10. and after him all the Ecclesiastical historians.

(28) Boëth. *Scot. Hist. l.* 5. Dempster, *Appar. ad Histor. Eccl. Scot. l.* 6. &c. &c. See Usher *p.* 612. *seqq.* Buchanan, without mentioning the year or Pope Victor, simply says ; (*Rer. Scot. lib. IV. ad XXVII. Rex.*) " Donaldus regum Scotorum primus Christianos ritus receperat." Spottiswood (*History of the Church, &c. of*

Scotland, B. 1.) will not allow, that the Scots were instructed by any Roman teachers; so averse was the good man to any connexion with Rome; but he still maintains that king Donald was a Christian.

(29) Usher *p.* 610 *et alibi passim.* Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 114 *and* 216, *seqq.* Lloyd *on Church government, Chap.* I. Stillingfleet, *Antiquities, &c. Chap. II. and Preface.* O'Flaherty, *Ogygia vindicated, Chap. VIII.* and all through, &c. &c. The matter is now so well understood, that the very Scots themselves admit and even prove it. See Innes, *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, Vol.* 2. *Dissert. II, Chap.* 2. and Chalmers, *Caledonia, Vol. I.* at *Scottish period.* The only question now remaining between learned men is whether, before the first establishment of a Scottish kingdom in Albany, in the year 503, under Fergus son of Erk (Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad an.* 503. Innes *loc. cit. &c.*) or, as others say, (see *Tr. Th. p.* 115, O'Flaherty, *Ogygia p.* 472, and *Ogygia vindicated loc. cit.* Chas. O'Conor, *Preface to Ogyg. vind. p.* 4) Loarn Fergus's eldest brother, there was a Scottish colony, dependent however on the Irish Dalriadans (of Antrim) planted in that country about the middle of the third century. Chas. O'Conor, however positive in maintaining *(Dissertation on the first migrations and final settlement of the Scots in N. Britain, and Note to Ogyg. Vind. p.* 162*)* that such a colony was settled in N. Britain A. 258 under Carbre Riada, does not pretend to call it a kingdom, but tells us that it was weak and struggling with difficulties, until the sons of Erk in the beginning of the sixth century laid the foundation of the first Scottish kingdom out of Ireland.

(30) Bozius, (*lib.* 8. *de sign. eccl. cap.* 1.) quoted by Usher, *p.* 615. understood it so; for he writes; "Tradunt in Scotia, quæ tunc erat Hibernia, Christi cultum disseminatum eodem tempore, quo in Britannia, sub annum *sc.* CCIII. Victore sedente."

(31) See about king Lucius, &c. Usher, *Pr. capp.* III. IV. V. VI. Stillingfleet, *Antiq. chap.* 2. and Dr. Milner's *History of Winchester, Vol.* 1. *chap.* 3.

§. v. Dr. Ledwich, after stating that the Britons (of G. Britain) were the first teachers of the Irish,(32) throws out some loose and incoherent assertions as if

to show, that christianity made its way into Ireland through the exertions of Greek and Asiatic *missioners*, as he calls them. For, says he, Colman in his conference with Wilfrid (33) asserted, that the Easter, which he kept, was the same as that, which St. John the Evangelist observed. Not to inquire at present into the truth of Colman's position, of which in its own place, were the Doctor's inference of any weight, it would go to prove, that St. John or some of his immediate disciples had preached the Gospel in Ireland. It was thus that old Spottiswood concluded, (34) that, when St. John was relegated to Patmos, some of his disciples came over to Scotland, because the Scots maintained the correctness of their Paschal cycle by alledging his authority. Another equally potent argument adduced by the Doctor is, that Pothinus and Irenaeus, who were bishops of Lyons in the second century, were Greeks. But it does not appear, that they sent any missionaries either to Ireland or Britain; nor is there in the ancient history of the Church any account of Greek or Asiatic teachers coming to Ireland at that early period. He adds, that the Irish liturgy was not the same as the Roman; an argument, which he borrowed from Toland, (35) who, however, was not fool enough to use it as a proof of the oriental origin of the Irish church, whereas he observes, that divers liturgies were formerly used in Ireland. Then the Doctor talks of the Gallican office, liturgy, or *cursus*, which, he says, was adopted by the British church, and "no doubt by the Irish." Stillingfleet, he adds, has shown, that this liturgy agreed with the Greek. This is not true; nor has Stillingfleet even undertaken to show it; who, on the contrary, in his long and learned dissertation (36) concerning that Gallican *cursus* expressly states, that it was distinguished from the Eastern liturgy or *Cursus Orientalis*. The fact is, that according to a little treatise on the origin of ecclesiastical *cursuses* or liturgies and offices, quoted

by Usher, (37) St. German of Auxerre and St. Lupus of Troyes are said to have delivered to St. Patrick a *cursus*, which they had learned in the island of Lerins from Cassian, Honoratus, and others. (38) German and Lupus were neither Greek nor Asiatic *missioners*. Nor, although natives of Gaul, and consequently, should we believe the Doctor, of the Oriental school, were they full of *horror and detestation of the Romish corruptions*. (39) This *soi-disant* antiquary has read so little, that he does not know that several Popes of those days, and at the very period to which he alludes, were Greeks or Asiatics, such as Anacletus, Evaristus, Telesphorus, Higynus, Anicetus, Eleutherus, Anterus; nor that St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Polycarp of Smyrna, St. Irenaeus, &c. were on the best terms with the see of Rome; nor that there was no Greek schism until many centuries after the times he refers to; nor that the variety of liturgies did not in any age of the Church, (40) nor does at the present time clash with the great principle of Catholic unity. (41)

(32) *Antiquities of Ireland*, 1st *Ed. p.* 358.

(33) Bede *Eccl. Hist. Angl. L.* 3. *c.* 25.

(34) *History of the Church, &c. of Scotland, Book I.*

(35) *Nazarenus, Letter* 11. §. 3. (36) *Antiquities, &c. Chap.* 4.

(37) *Prim. p.* 343, 840, and 917. This treatise may be seen in Spelman's Councils, &c. *vol.* 1. *p.* 176. *seqq.* and in Wilkins's, *Vol.* 4. *p.* 741. We shall see more about it elsewhere.

(38) See Usher's remarks *p.* 343. on the inaccuracy of some parts of that statement.

(39) Ledwich, *ib. p.* 360. O'Halloran, who knew nothing of ecclesiastical history, has some of this stuff about Asiatic Missionaries, &c. in his History of Ireland.

(40) See Gregory the great's third answer to Augustin's questions; *Works, L.* XII. *Ep.* 34, and in Bede, *Eccl. Hist. L.* I. *c.* 27.

(41) The Greek, Syrian, Armenian, &c. liturgies are practised in the very city of Rome. The Ambrosian liturgy is observed in the diocese of Milan. The Mosarabic liturgy is still kept up at Toledo.

Several Religious orders, with whom the *detestation of Romish corruptions* will certainly not be found, have their peculiar liturgies. I am really ashamed to mention facts so well known to the learned. But, as the Scripture says, *answer a fool according to his folly.*

§. VI. Not to dwell further at present on Ledwich's unlearned conjectures and wild corollaries, there is no authority or document to prove, that the first preachers of christianity in Ireland were Britons rather than persons from Gaul, Spain, or of any other country, that carried on trade with Ireland in those times. That a foreign trade with this country existed as far back, at least, as the period, in which Tacitus lived, is evident from his telling us, that the harbours of Ireland were better known in the line of commerce and among commercial people than those of Britain. (42) It is certain, that an intercourse of trade was kept up between Ireland and Gaul. (43) And not to inquire into the communication maintained with Spain after the arrival of the colony, commonly called the Milesian, from Gallicia in that country, it appears from various remains of antiquity discovered in Ireland, (44) that it was occasionally resorted to by traders from Carthage or other parts of Africa, and perhaps by some from more eastern tracts. It is very natural to suppose, that Christians of the countries now mentioned, on arriving in Ireland for commercial purposes, might, particularly considering the zeal of the primitive faithful, endeavour to convert some of the natives to the Christian faith and succeed in so doing. It might also have happened, that among the captives taken in the predatory excursions of the Irish along the coasts of Britain or Gaul, such as those under Niell Naoigiallach about the latter end of the fourth century and beginning of the fifth, there were some well informed Christians and even priests, who certainly did not lose any opportunity of instructing their masters. Nor is it improbable, that as early as the time of the persecu-

tion of Diocletian and Maximian, (45) the only one recorded as having raged in Britain, (46) some Christians and particularly of the clerical order thence took refuge in Ireland, as also perhaps from the Gauls and Spain, from which latter countries such persons might have fled hither during former persecutions. Whoever were the first founders of Christianity in Ireland, or whatever the time of its first introduction, there is reason to believe that Christians were to be found, at the period now under discussion, not only in the eastern and southern parts, but likewise in places more remote from Britain and the continent of Europe. (47)

(42) *Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti.* Tacitus, *Vita Julii Agricolæ.*

(43) See Probus, *Vita S. Patricii, L.* 1. §. 13, 14.

(44) See Governor Pownall's *Account of some Irish Antiquities, Archæologia, Vol.* 3.

(45) This persecution, which began A. D. 303, lasted in *Britain, Gaul, and Spain* not much more than one year. Usher, *p.* 167. *seqq.* Stillingfleet, *Antiq. Chap.* II.

(46) See Bede, *L.* 1. *capp.* 4, 6, 8.

(47) A very remarkable circumstance is related in the Tripartite history of St. Patrick (published by Colgan, *Tr. Th.*) *Part* II. *cap.* 35. St. Patrick, having crossed the Shannon on his way to Connaught, arrived at a place called *Dumha-graidh* (somewhere, it seems, in Leitrim, perhaps Drumahare, or in Roscommon) where he ordained one Ailbe (different from Ailbe of Emly) priest. As there was a deficiency of sacred utensils for celebrating mass, the saint pointed out to him a subterraneous stone grotto, where he would find an altar of nice workmanship and four chalices of glass. From a quotation in the narrative it appears, that this fact rested upon old authority. Jocelin also relates it *cap.* 105, but not so distinctly, and adds, that some persons thought those articles had belonged to Palladius or some of his companions. But, as Colgan remarks, Palladius or his followers had not penetrated so far into the interior of Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick.

§. VII. Some Irish Christians used in those times to repair to other countries, where christianity had already risen to a flourishing state. This can be easily accounted for, considering the wish many of them naturally entertained of being better instructed in matters of religion than they could in their own country. A memorable, although unfortunate, instance occurs in the case of Celestius the favourite and most able disciple of the heresiarch Pelagius, whom St. Jerome more than once (48) exhibits as a Scot or Irishman. Pelagius, according to the generality of writers, was a Briton, and is so called by the ancients. (49) Were we to believe some obscure writers, he was abbot of Bangor in Wales;(50) but, as Stillingfleet has observed, (51) this cannot be true; for there was no monastery of Bangor at the time Pelagius broached his heresy, which he first disclosed about the year 405 at Rome, where he had lived for a long time before and kept a school. (52) Nor was it in a British monastery, as Ledwich says, (53) that Celestius became a disciple of his, but at Rome, after he had, when young, spent some time in a monastery, (54)but in what country is not known. While in that monastery his faith was sound; but, having afterwards met with Pelagius and Rufinus at Rome, he adopted their pernicious principles. (55) Marius Mercator states(56)that he was of a noble family, and St. Augustin has acknowledged that he was a man of an exceedingly sharp genius,(57) which indeed appears from the dexterity, with which he managed his arguments and endeavoured to puzzle his adversaries. (58) Some writers are of opinion that the passages of St. Jerome, from which it is usually concluded that Celestius was a Scot, refer not to Celestius but to Pelagius(59) himself and his master Rufinus, or, as St. Jerome used to call him, Grunnius. Without entering into a further detail on the subject, the authority of St. Prosper, who was well aware of the difference between Britons and Scots, is too explicit (60) to leave any doubt that Pelagius was a Briton.

(48) Ipseque (Pelagius) mutus latrat per Alpinum canem grandem et corpulentum—Habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis de Britannorum vicinia. *Prol. ad L.* 3. *Comment. in Jeremiam.* And, *Prol. ad L.* 1. of the same commentaries he says of him "Scotorum pultibus prægravatus." Hence not only Usher, (*Prim. p.* 208 and 786) but also Noris, (*Historia Pelagiana L.* 1. *c.* 3.) and Martianay (*Not. ad Prol. l.* 1. now quoted) conclude, that Celestius was a Scot.

(49) Prosper, *in Chronico,* has *Pelagius Brito,* and *Poem. de Ingratis,*

Dogma quod antiqui satiatum felle draconis
Pestifero vomuit coluber sermone *Britannus.*

See more in Usher's *Prim. p.* 206.

(50) See Usher, *ib. p.* 208.

(51) *Antiq. Chap.* 4. (52) Noris, *Hist. Pelag. l. I. c.* 3. (53) *p.* 358.

(54) Gennadius, *De Scriptor. Eccles. No.* 44. (55) Noris *loc. cit.*

(56) *Commonitor. ad Pintam cont. Julian.*

(57) "*Acerrimi ingenii.*" S. August. *L.* 2. *cont. duas Ep. Pelagii, cap.* 3.

(58) See Usher, *p.* 231.

(59) Browerus thought so; *Not. ad Venant. Fortunat. l.* 3. *epigr.* 8. This opinion is ingeniously maintained by Garnier, *Dissert.* 1. *in Marium Mercator. c.* 5. Tillemont leans to it, T. XIII. *Art.* 216. I might add Skinner, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Letter* 3. did that work deserve to be noticed.

(60) See above *Not.* 49.

§. VIII. We come now to an illustrious poet and theologian, of whom, if it shall appear that he was an Irishman, we may be justly proud. The celebrated Sedulius, according to several critics, belonged during at least part of his life, to the period we are treating of. Among the distinguished men of the ancient church there is scarcely any, concerning whom so many questions have been started and such a variety of opinions is to be met with.

The first question is whether he was an Irishman, or a native of some part of the continent. Following a crowd of older writers Usher (61) and Colgan, (62) who

have discussed every thing relating to Sedulius, maintain, as do also Ware and Harris, (63) that he was a native of Ireland. Some British Scots have, as usual, put in their claim for Sedulius on account of his being generally designated by the appellation *Scotus* or *Scotigena*. But it has been clearly proved, and is now universally admitted, that, if he was a Scot at all, he was an Irish one, whereas in the very passages, from which his Scottish origin is deduced, he is called not merely *Scotus* but *Scotus Hyberniensis*. (64) Others have said that he was a Spaniard(65); and some later writers have thrown out, as a mere conjecture, that he was an Italian. Labbe, (66) without determining to what country he belonged, confines himself to showing, that there is no sufficient proof of his having been an Irishman, and that he ought to be distinguished from another Sedulius, the commentator of St. Paul's Epistles, who was undoubtedly of Ireland and flourished in the ninth century. Bayle (67) follows Labbe, of whose dissertation he has merely given a summary. Mabillon (68) also has observed, that there were two of the name, one the great poet in the fifth century, the other who flourished in the eighth, and was certainly an Irish priest. But even Mabillon did not pretend to show, that the great Sedulius was not a native of Ireland. Amidst these doubts and disputes, and while nothing is adduced to overturn the assertion that he was an Irish Scot, an argument occurs, which has been overlooked by Usher, derived from the name *Sedulius*, a name quite common in Ireland, (69) and of which, except that of the poet, I believe no instance can be traced of old in any other country. And even admitting with Labbe that the Sedulius, whose annotations or Collectaneum we have on the Epistles of St. Paul and who is called *Scotus Hyberniensis*, lived in the eighth and ninth century, which I allow to be very probable, (70) what is to be said of the collection of letters mentioned by Trithemius and beginning with

the words, *Sedulius Scotigena?* (71) It is indeed objected that it should be proved first, that they were written by the poet; but I should rather think that, did it not appear from the correspondence that they were written to persons contemporary with the poet, Trithemius, however he might have been mistaken on some other points, would not have attributed them to him.

As to the precise time, in which he lived, it is generally agreed, that he flourished during some part of the fifth century. Trithemius says under Theodosius (the younger) A. 430. Colgan (72) places him about the same period. Usher thinks, that he belonged rather to the latter part of that century and died about A. 494. (73) It is certainly difficult to explain, why Sedulius does not appear in Gennadius' catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, were his works published before that time, whereas until that very year 494 Genadius brought down his work. In opposition to Usher's calculation a passage is quoted from ancient manuscripts, (74) in which Sedulius is expressly stated to have written his books in the time of Theodosius the younger and Valentinian the third, consequently before the year 450. If this is to be considered as decisive authority, we must suppose, to reconcile it with the silence of Gennadius, that Sedulius' writings were not generally known until many years after he had composed them. Some say that he was a bishop; but from the testimony of St. Isidore of Seville(75) it is clear that he rose no higher than to the rank of a priest; nor, as has been properly observed by Labbe and others, does the title, *Antistes*, given to him by some ancients, prove any thing to the contrary. (76) Some of the most beautiful hymns, (77) that are read in the Church, have been taken from Sedulius' poems.

(61) *Primord. p. 769, seqq.*

(62) *AA. SS. Life of Sedulius at XII. Febr.* (63) *Irish Writers.*

(71) See Usher, *p.* 771. These letters have not, as far as I know, been as yet published.

(72) *AA. SS. ad XII. Febr.*

(73) *Pr. p.* 777. Usher is followed by Ware, *Irish Writers* at *Sedulius.*

(74) Labbe gives it from an old *MS.* of Pithoeus, and Mabillon from a *MS.* of the monastery of Lerins in these words; "Incipit ars Sedulii poetæ, qui primo laicus in Italia philosophiam didicit; postea cum aliis metrorum generibus heroicum metrum Macedonio consulente docuit in Achaia; libros suos scripsit tempore Impp. minoris Theodosii filii Arcadii et Valentiniani filii Constantii." *Vet. Anal. Vol.* 1. *p.* 363.

(75) *De Illustr. Eccl. Scriptor.* at *Sedulius.*

(76) See Bingham, *Origines Eccles. Book II. Chap. XIX. sect.* 14.

(77) Ex. c. *A solis ortus cardine—Hostis Herodes impie* (since changed into *Crudelis Herodes, Deum)* &c. See Ware and Harris, *Irish Writers,* at *Sedulius.*

§. IX. It has been said that St. Briocus, from whom the town of St. Brieux in Britany got its name, was a native of the territory of Cork, (78) and was brought over to Gaul by St. German of Auxerre on his return from one of his missions in Great Britain. Fitzsimons has him in his catalogue of Irish saints. (79) But Lobineau, without even alluding to his supposed Irish origin, states (80) that he was a native of Great Britain, being of the same country and family with Rival one of the British princes, that emigrated to Armorican Gaul about the year 458.

(78) See Usher *p.* 997. Camden, *Hibernia* at *Co. Cork.*

(79) At 1. May. (80) *Histoire de Bretagne; Vol.* 1. *p.* 73.

§. X. Hitherto we have inquired into the history of such distinguished persons, as have been represented by foreign writers as born in Ireland, and concerning whom little or nothing is to be found in our old Irish Annalists, whose records of our ecclesiastical history usually begin with Palladius and St. Pa-

trick and are, for the period we are now treating of, confined to an account of persons, who became eminent in their own country. To this description belong Ailbe of Emly, Declan of Ardmore, Ibar of Begery, and Kieran of Saigir, who, according to certain writers of their Lives, were bishops in Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick. Of these saints we shall treat in the proper places; at present let it suffice to show, that there is no foundation for the high antiquity assigned to them, nor for their having been bishops as early as mentioned in those legends. That the three former, (for Kieran belongs to a much later period) were partly contemporaries with St. Patrick will not be denied; and that is as much as can be granted consistently with the truth of history. It is also to be observed, that these fables occur chiefly in the very tracts, called the Lives of those saints, tracts abounding with anachronisms and contradictions, while the old Irish annals and the most correct Lives of St. Patrick are in direct opposition to them. (81)

(81) Hence Warner had no right to say; "It seems agreed among *all* the Irish writers, that before Patrick or Palladius there were four bishops in Ireland." *History of Ireland, p.* 270. Nor did he know, that Sir James Ware, one of our most accurate and impartial antiquaries, did not recognize this agreement. (See *Annot. ad Opusc. S. Patricii, p.* 106.) Hanmer, in his *Chronicle of Ireland*, had detailed these stories as he found them in the legends, and Usher, who seemed inclined to believe them, copied the principal passages of the so called Lives relative to them. Colgan greedily swallowed them, (*Tr. Th. p.* 250. *seqq.*) but has been often obliged to contradict himself with regard to these subjects. Lloyd, *On Church Government*, (chap. 2.) says he dared not wholly reject those Irish legends of Kiaran, &c. and Harris, a servile follower of Usher, preferred (*Bishops*, at *Ailbe* and *Kieran*, and at *St. Patrick*) his statements concerning them to the authority of Ware.

§. XI. St. Ailbe is said to have been born in Eliach (82) in Munster. Then the following account of him is given. His father's name was *Olcnais*. When a boy, he wished to be enlightened concerning the creator of all things. On a certain occasion, while with uplifted eyes praying for this grace, he was overheard by a Christian priest, who had been sent to Ireland by the Apostolic see *many* years before St. Patrick. This priest accosted him, afterwards instructed him in the Christian faith, and then baptized him. (83) After some time we find St. Ailbe at Rome studying under a bishop Hilarius, and we are told that this same Hilarius *sent* (84) Ailbe to the Pope, that he might be ordained bishop by him; that he was very kindly received by the Pope, with whom he remained a year and fifty days; that in the mean while fifty holy men arrived from Ireland at Rome, among whom were Declan, twelve of the name of Colman, twelve Coemgens, and twelve Fintans; and that the Pope gave to those fifty men a separate habitation under the presidency of Ailbe. (85) Being ordained bishop, Ailbe was commissioned to preach the faith, but in what country we are not informed, to certain gentiles, which he did with great success. Having fulfilled this mission he returned home, preached all over Ireland, and converted many persons but not all; "because it was the will of God, that the holy bishop Patrick, who came to Ireland *after* Ailbe, should bring over all the Irish to the faith." (86)

Now this narrative is directly contradicted not only by Prosper, who expressly states that Palladius was the *first* bishop sent from Rome to Ireland, but likewise by the most respectable documents of our domestic history. Tirechan, one of our most ancient writers has, as quoted by Ware, (87) recorded that Ailbe was ordained priest by St. Patrick. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, (88) published by Colgan, the bishops Ailbe and Ibar are spoken of

as obeying a certain injunction of their *father* Patrick, and Jocelin(89) distinctly calls them disciples of his. Hence Colgan himself reckons (90) Ailbe among the disciples of our great saint. And, what decides the question at once, the very accurate annals both of Ulster and Innisfallen place the death of Ailbe in the year 527. (91) Who will believe, that he could have been a preaching bishop some years or even one year before A. 432, the year of St. Patrick's arrival on his mission?

(82) Hanmer explains this name by Ely O'Carrol. But there were other districts known by that name, which signifies a level tract of country. The *Eliach* or *Eile*, now called Eliogarty, is also in Munster, as indeed Ely O'Carrol formerly was.

(83) See Usher, *p.* 782.

(84) If Hilarius *sent* him to the Pope, it would seem that he was not a resident in Rome. Should there be any truth in what is said of Ailbe's expedition to Rome, I am inclined to think that Hilarius, bishop of Arles, who lived until the year 449, was the person alluded to, particularly as St. Patrick had spent some time among the celebrated monks of Lerins, of whose congregation Hilarius had been a member and probably a contemporary there with St. Patrick, who might accordingly have sent Ailbe and perhaps others for their theological education to that renowned school. I think this conjecture as probable as that of the Bollandists, according to whom (*Commentar. prævi. ad S. Patric.* §. 4. *Mart.* 17.) said Hilarius was Pope Hilarius, or rather Hilarus, who, they say, ordained A. 464 Ailbe bishop as also Declan. It may be objected, that this conjecture accords better with the time of Ailbe's death, which was A. 527. Yet we may observe, that even between *A.D.* 464 and 527 an unusually long incumbency must have taken place. But I do not mean to insinuate, that Ailbe was ordained bishop during the life time of Hilarius of Arles. My conjecture goes no further than that Ailbe was perhaps, when young, sent to Hilarius for his education. Of this more hereafter.

(85) See Usher, *p.* 789.

(86) *Ib. p.* 793.

(87) *Antiquities, chap.* 29.

(88) *L.* III. *cap.* 33.

(89) *Cap.* 83.

(90) *Tr. Th. App. V. ad Act. S. Patr. cap.* 23. *p.* 265.

(91) Ware uses this argument, which is indeed invincible. *(Annot. ad Opusc. S. Patric.)* Usher was staggered by it; for, after quoting those Annals, *(Ind. Chron. ad an.* 527*)* he adds, that their statement cannot "*cum illorum rationibus consistere, qui Ailbeum ante adventum Patricii Christianam fidem Hibernis annunciavisse statuunt.*"

§. XII. Of Declan we read, that he was son of Ercus prince of Nandesi (Desies Co. Waterford,) and born in the house of one Dobran, where his father and mother, whose name was Dethidin, happened to be on a visit. While they were still there, Colman a holy priest, who afterwards became a bishop, came and preached to them the Christian faith and foretold the future greatness of the child. They believing delivered the infant to him to be baptized, which he did calling him *Declan*. Dobran, who was a relative of Ercus, on observing these circumstances, requested to be allowed to rear Declan, which his parents agreed to. After seven years, during which time he was taken particular care of, he was entrusted for his education to a religious and well informed Christian named Dymma, who having not long before returned to Ireland, of which he was a native, had constructed a cell in the neighbourhood. Declan had a schoolfellow of the name of Carpre or Carbre, who afterwards became a holy bishop. Having spent a long time under Dymma, his reputation became very great, and several persons came to put themselves under his direction, among whom are mentioned Mochelloc, Bean, Colman, Lachnin (or Lactin), Mobys, Findlug, and Caminen (or Caymin,) who afterwards erected cells in the vicinity of where Declan then was, not far from Lismore. (92) After these transactions Declan, taking some disciples with him, set out for Rome, where he arrived at the time Ailbe was there. He was most graciously

received by the Pope, and highly honoured by the clergy and people of Rome. Having remained there a considerable time, he was ordained bishop by the Pope, and on being invested with power to preach in his own country, and receiving the apostolical benediction, set out on his journey for Ireland accompanied by several pious persons, among whom was Lunanus *son of the king of the Romans!* On his way he met in Italy St. Patrick, who was going to Rome, and who was *afterwards* sent by Pope Celestine to Ireland. Usher calculates, (93) that this meeting took place in the year 402. When returned to Ireland, he spent some time in Nandesi, and then having an occasion to go again to Rome was entertained on his way through Great Britain by the famous St. David of Wales. (94) Returning a second time to Ireland, he took up his residence at Ardmore on land granted to him by the lord of that country. (95)

To clear up the whole matter, it might be unnecessary to refer to any other authority than the very tract called Declan's Life, in which it is expressly stated that he survived Ailbe, (96) who, as we have seen above, died A. 527. This is more than sufficient to show, that he was not a bishop in the year 402 nor at any time before the mission of St. Patrick. Colgan, in opposition indeed to what he has elsewhere, reckons Declan among St. Patrick's disciples, and refers for a proof of it to several parts of his Life. (97) But I think it probable that Declan did not live early enough to be a disciple of our Apostle, although he might have been born before his death. Otherwise how can it be accounted for, that his name is not to be met with in Tirechan's list, (98) nor, what is much more remarkable, in any of the old Lives of St. Patrick, notwithstanding the minuteness, with which some of them make mention not only of such of his disciples as founded churches or monasteries, but likewise of very many of inferior note? From what

is related of Declan it appears, that his reputation was very great in his time. It would have been therefore very strange to omit the name of so eminent a disciple, had he really belonged to their number. Calculating from the times of such of Declan's disciples, or friends, as we have some records of, we may conclude that he became distinguished during some part of the sixth century. Mochelloc (or Kelloc) (99) was, according to all probability, the same as Mochelloc, who is highly spoken of in the Irish Calendars and Martyrologies, and died very old in Fiodh Lethan a district not far from Lismore, in which was formerly a city called *Cathuir mac Conchaidh.* (100) His death is assigned to some year between A. 639 and 656, and his festival affixed to the 26th of March. (101) As to Colman we find several saints of that name in the sixth and about the beginning of the seventh century,(102) some of whom were of the same province (Munster) as Declan; for instance, Colman son of Lenine. (103) St. Lactin or Lactan was probably the abbot Lactean contemporary with St. Senan (104) in the sixth century. A St. Cayman of Dar-inis (105) is mentioned as having flourished in the early part of it. Then we have as contemporary with Declan St. David of Wales, who lived until a late period of said century. (106)

(92) Usher, *Pr. p.* 782 *seqq.* Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 251.

(93) *p.* 790. Usher is followed by Smith, *History of Waterford, p. 5.*

(94) Hanmer, *Chronicle, p.* 69 *New Edit.* Usher omits this circumstance, as it did not square with his system.

(95) Hanmer, *ib.*

(96) Ailbe died *vivente S. Declano.* See Colgan *Act. SS. p.*608. and Ware, *Annot. ad Opusc. S. P. p.* 106. Ledwich in his usual inaccurate manner says *p.* 361, that the annals of Ulster and Innisfallen, as cited by Ware, place the death of Declan later than that of Ailbe. Now in those Annals the name of Declan is not men-

tioned, nor does Ware cite them to that purpose, as he refers only to Declan's Life.

(97) *Life of Declan, capp.* 30, 31, 32, 33—49. *Tr. Th. p.* 269.

(98) *Ap.* Usher, *p.* 951.

(99) *Mo*, which signifies *my*, is frequently found prefixed, as an indication of affection, to the name of Irish saints; as *ex. c.* Moedoc, the celebrated prelate of Ferns, my *Edoc* or *Edan*, Mochoemoc, my *Choemoc*, &c.

(100) Archdall (*Monasticon Hib. ad locum*) could not guess at the precise situation of that town. Q. Might not *Mocollop*, the name of a parish not far from Lismore (See Smith's *Waterford*, p. 21,) be a corruption of *Mochelloc?*

(101) *AA. SS. ad* 26 *Mart.* Colgan has at 7 *Mart.* another Mochelloc, whom he places in the beginning of the 5th century as having been a disciple of Declan. But he alleges no other authority for his so early existence than the stuff contained in Declan's Life.

(102) Usher, *p.* 960. Colgan, *AA. SS. p.* 427.

(103) See below Chap. XII. §. 8. (104) *AA. SS. p.* 525.

(105) *Ib. p.* 393 and 397. There are two islands of this name, one, now called Molana in the river Blackwater below Lismore, and the other near Wexford. It is not clear in which of these islands Caynan resided. Colgan thinks it was the latter, and is followed by Archdall at *Darinis.*

(106) Usher from certain chronological supputations would fain place St. David's death in the year 544. See *Pr. p.* 526, and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 544. The fact, however, as shall be proved hereafter, is that he lived many years later, and it is doubtful, whether he was even a bishop in that year.

§. XIII. We come now to Ibar, whose history is much less involved and obscure (107) than that of Declan. There is no mention of his journeying to Rome or any other place out of Ireland. He is stated to have been a native of Ulster, (108) a bishop before the arrival of St. Patrick, (109) and to have resided chiefly in his monastery in Beg-erin. (110) The history of Ibar is easily cleared up. In some of the Lives of St. Patrick he is, as has been seen above, expressly

named together with Ailbe as a disciple of his. He is also mentioned as such in Tirechan's list (111). Colgan, contradicting himself, reckons him accordingly among the disciples of our great Apostle; (112) and that he was one of them cannot be doubted. He died in the year 500. (113)

(107) Usher quotes (*p.* 1061) a Life of Ibar, which seems to have been very short, as the account given of him is chiefly taken from incidental scraps of other documents.

(108) Usher *p.* 784. and 1061. (109) *Id. p.* 781.

(110) *Id. p.* 794. Beg-erin, that is, *little Ireland*, (*Parva Hibernia, ib.*) is a small island near the harbour of Wexford. It is now called *Begery*, which name is but a corruption of the old one *Begerin*, and not, as Seward says, *(Topogr. Hibern.)* signifying the *little land in the water.*

(111) Usher *p.* 950. (112) *Tr. Th. p.* 265.

(113) *Annal. Ulton.* and *Innisfal.* Ware *Annotat. ad Op. &c. p.* 106. Usher *Ind. Chron.*

§. XIV. Whatever claims any one of the saints we have now treated of might have had to a priority of time, compared with St. Patrick, Kieran of Saigir certainly had none at all; and it is surprising that men of learning, particularly such a man as Usher, could have received the incoherent and ridiculous accounts given of the times, at which he lived. Two Lives of his, which, I am compelled to say, abound in fables, have been published by Colgan, (114) from which alone it is evident, that he lived at a much later period than what has been usually assigned. After honouring him with the title of the *first-born of the saints of Ireland*, they proceed to inform us that his father was Lugneus a noble Ossorian, and his mother Liadain of Corcalaighde (Carberry) in South Munster. St. Kieran was born in Cape Clear island. (115) Having spent thirty years in Ireland still unbaptized, he heard of the Christian religion as flourishing at Rome, and went thither for the pur-

pose of being instructed. There he was baptized and remained twenty years (116) studying the scriptures and canons, after which he was ordained bishop and sent to preach in his own country. On his way to Ireland he met St. Patrick in Italy, who was not as yet a bishop, and who told Kieran that he would follow him to Ireland in thirty years from the date of their meeting. This must have happened in the year 402, and accordingly Kieran, being then 50 years of age, was born A. 352. When arrived in Ireland he was miraculously directed, as St. Patrick had told him he would, to the place since called Saigir, (117) where he erected a monastery. Having ordained an innumerable multitude of bishops, priests, &c. he died at the age of about 300 years!!!

Other accounts state, that Kieran's meeting with St. Patrick somewhere out of Ireland occurred several years after the latter had commenced his apostolical labours in this country. Jocelin (118) places it at a time when St. Patrick was returning from Britain, whither he had gone some time before to procure a supply of additional helpers for his mission, and tells us that Kieran was then one of six Irish clergymen, who were proceeding to foreign countries for religious improvement, and all of whom afterwards became bishops in *their own country*. In Colgan's Tripartite history of St. Patrick(119) the precise place of meeting is not given; but, what is more to the purpose, it is represented as having occurred at least twelve years after St. Patrick had begun his mission in Ireland, and Kieran is stated to have *then* received directions from the saint concerning the district, in which he should erect his monastery. Accordingly Colgan, notwithstanding his credulity elsewhere, reckons him among the disciples of St. Patrick. (120)

It will however appear, that he is not to be ranked among those disciples. His name does not occur in Tirechan's list nor in any of St. Patrick's

Lives except the two, which have been just quoted; and even its appearing in them was evidently owing to the stories concerning him having got into circulation, which stories the authors of those two Lives endeavoured to reconcile with the true history of St. Patrick. (121) Had he been a disciple of our Apostle, how could he have become a scholar of St. Finnian of Clonard in the sixth century? For such he is stated to have been not only in the Life of Finnian, (122) and in that of his illustrious namesake Kieran of Clonmacnois, (123) but likewise in the tract, (124) which is called his first Life, and which enters into more particulars than the other. At what time Finnian's school first became distinguished, is not accurately known, but we shall see hereafter that it could not be much earlier than the year 534. He died A. 552. (125) In both of Kieran's Lives (126) his namesake of Clonmacnois, who died, rather young, in the year 549, (127) and the two Brendans, one of Clonfert, who died A. 577 (128) and the other of Birr, whose death happened but a few years before, are spoken of as having had transactions with him. We may then safely conclude, that he belonged to the sixth century, became distinguished towards the middle of it, and died during its latter half. As this was known to be the case, his blundering biographers strove to reconcile their nonsense concerning the antiquity and privileges of the monastery of Saigir with the true date of his life by making him die at the age of about 300 years, although, had they calculated better, about 220 might have been sufficient.

(114) *AA. SS. ad 5 Mart.* The Bollandists reject them as incorrect and fabulous. Usher had the first of these Lives in *MS.* as appears from his quotations, *p.* 784. *seqq.*

(115) The first Life has; "Conceptus est electus Dei Kieranus natusque et nutritus est in regione Corcalaighdi, videlicet in Clera insula." The second Life agrees with the first as to his father and mother, but has not the place of his birth. Ware was mistaken

in making him a native of Ossory *(Bishops—Ossory)* although his father was from that country. The memory of Kieran is kept up in that island, some places and remains being honoured with his name. See Smith, *History of Cork, Vol.* 1. *p.* 287.

(116) Another account has fifteen years. Usher, *p.* 788.

(117) Seir-keran in the King's county.

(118) *Vita S. Patric. cap.* 93. Usher quotes *p.* 790. a part of Jocelin's text, but omits what did not agree with his system; for, while he gives some of Jocelin's words in such a manner as to make the reader think, that Jocelin alluded to the pretended meeting in the year 402, the whole context shows that the meeting spoken of took place, according to Jocelin, many years later; and that it happened not in Italy nor on St. Patrick's coming from Rome; and that, in direct opposition to Usher's calculation, Kieran, so far from being a bishop at Rome in the year 402, was not one until a considerable time after St. Patrick's mission to Ireland, when Kieran having returned from abroad was consecrated.

(119) *L.* 2. *c.* 9. (120) *Tr. Th. p.* 266.

(121) This will be seen particularly from the jumbled, awkward, and hesitating manner, in which Kieran is spoken of in the Tripartite, *loc. cit.*

(122) *Vita S. Finniani cap.* 19. *AA. SS. ad* 23. *Febr.* Several of his fellow students are mentioned there, such as Kieran of Clonmacnois, Columb-kill, the two Brendans, Cannech, or Kenny, &c. all of whom flourished in the sixth century. Colgan refers to another life of Finnian, in which these same eminent persons are named as his contemporaries at that great school. See also Usher, *p.* 909.

(123) *AA. SS. p.* 471. *There* likewise the two Kierans, Columbkill, and the two Brendans are spoken of as fellow-students.

(124) *Cap.* 33. *AA. SS. p.* 463. The author of that Life well knowing, that Finnian's school was held in the sixth century, and acknowledging that Kieran was universally considered as a pupil of Finnian, cunningly endeavoured to reconcile this circumstance with his former positions by telling us, that Kieran was then very old, but that he was so humble as not to be ashamed to attend Finnian's lectures. "Iste S. Kieranus valde erat humilis in omnibus, qui multum diligebat divinam scripturam audire et

discere *usque ad decrepitam aetatem.* Fertur enim de eo, quod ipse cum caeteris sanctis Hiberniæ illius temporis ad virum sanctum Finnianum abbatem sapientissimum monasterii Cluain Eraird exivit in sua *senectute*, et in divinis scripturis in sancta schola ejus legebat. Inde vero beatissimus Kieranus *alumnus* S. Finniani, sicut alii sancti Hiberniæ, *dicitur.*" A strange thing indeed that, after 20 years of study at Rome, and having been a bishop A. 402, he should be found studying under Finnian about the year 540. Nor can these studies of his be reconciled with his having been a disciple of St. Patrick or a bishop during his time. In the Lives of Finnian and Kieran of Clonmacnois above quoted there is not the least hint of his great age, when attending at the school of Clonard; and he is simply mentioned as one of the ordinary pupils. Ware in his *Annotat. ad op. S. P. p.* 106. refers to the Life of Finnian as if showing, that Kieran was very old when he attended at his school. But he confounded what is said of him in his own Life with what is stated in that of Finnian. And yet in another place (*Antiquities, c.* 29.) he throws out a conjecture as if Kieran might have been alive in the time of Pope Gregory the great.

(125) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* The 4 Masters quoted by Colgan *AA. SS. p.* 406. have *A.* 548 (549). I should think the authority of the Annals of Innisfallen referred to by Usher the better one.

(126) 1*st Life, cap.* 33. 2*d Life, cap.* 11.

(127) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* (128) *Ib.*

§. XV. From what has been hitherto observed it appears, that there is no foundation for the opinion that a hierarchy existed in Ireland before the arrival of Palladius. (129) The Christians of those times, and who from various concurring circumstances seem to have been chiefly in the South-eastern parts of the island, were undoubtedly assisted by priests either natives or foreigners, or probably both, who however had been ordained in other countries. Their situation in this respect was similar to that of the Catholics of North America, who had no resident bishop among them until within these few years, and to

that of the Catholics of even some parts of Europe at this day, who are destitute of bishops. Yet, as is the case in the countries now alluded to and was until lately in North America, they were not totally bereft of spiritual attendance, being, at least occasionally, visited by priests and religious teachers.(130) Their situation began to be better known at Rome after the mission of St. German of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes in the year 429 (131) to Britain for the purpose of extirpating the Pelagian heresy out of that country. During that mission they could easily obtain information concerning the progress of Christianity in Ireland, and there is no doubt but that they were encouraged and assisted in their inquiries by St. Patrick, who, as will be seen hereafter, accompanied them in their spiritual expedition, and had been long intimate with St. German, whom Pope Celestine had deputed his legate on this occasion. It is natural to suppose, that, in giving an account to the Pope of the result of his labours, St. German did not omit to communicate some particulars relative to the state of the Irish Christians. Nor is it improbable, that some of those converts, who, as has been already observed, used to repair to the Continent for instruction, might have penetrated about that period as far as Rome, and there given some useful information with regard to the same subject. In consequence of such information, whatsoever quarter it proceeded from, and considering the increasing number of Christians in Ireland, the Pope deemed it adviseable to appoint a bishop, to preside over them (132) and to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs of the country.

(129) Usher, although not very positive on the subject, was strongly inclined towards that opinion in consequence of what had been said in the legends concerning Ailbe, Declan, &c. (*See Prim. p.* 800.) On the same principle Colgan *(Tr. Th. p.* 250 *seqq.)* maintains, that there were some bishops in Ireland before Palla-

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dius. Not to quote O'Conor and others, who follow in the same track, Dr. Ledwich, having rejected (*p.* 361.) the traditions relative to Ailbe, &c. and their episcopacy, stoutly asserts (*p.* 388) that there was abundance of bishops in this country, but that they would not submit to Palladius or the Pope. He does not indeed tell us who they were, and it would be a hard matter to find them out. The Doctor in his fury against Popery did not like the accounts given of Ailbe, &c. not because they contain anachronisms, (for such trifles he could easily swallow) but because it was said, that those holy men had "travelled to Rome and there received ordination. This is incredible." Then this great antiquary and logician, finding himself puzzled by the mission of Palladius likewise from Rome, unblushingly tells us, that the Irish had many bishops among them before him, and even attributes to them (*p.* 389) the departure of Palladius from Ireland. Strange that Usher, Colgan, Ware, Harris, &c. had never heard of those Anti-Roman prelates, who routed Palladius out of this country. *Mentita est iniquitas sibi.*

(130) Upon this circumstance some anti-episcopalians have endeavoured to build a system concerning the ancient church government of the Scots, as if there existed among them, before the arrival of Palladius, an entire national church under a merely presbyterian form. To reconcile the fable of a great Scottish church in Britain, from at least the time of Pope Victor, with the want of bishops old John Fordun had said (*Scotichr. l.* 3. *c.* 8.) that the Scots of those days were governed only by priests and monks, "according to the mode of the primitive church." The Scotch presbyterians seized upon this idea as justificatory of their ecclesiastical discipline. The very learned French Calvinist Blondel came forward (*Apolog. pro Hieronymo*) as an auxiliary on this question, in the supposition, which it is strange so erudite a man could admit, of the existence of such a great church in Scotland at that early period. The deductions drawn by him and others gave occasion to Dr. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, to inquire into the truth of those Scottish stories, and to demonstrate, as he has done in his Treatise on Church government, that there neither was nor could be any such thing as a considerable church of British Scots in those times. As several circumstances relative to the civil history of the Scots and their pretended antiquity in

Britain were discussed in this work, Sir G. Mackenzie endeavoured to answer it, but was most ably refuted by Dr. Stillingfleet in the Preface to the *Antiquities of the British churches.* The Culdees, an order of men, of whom we shall treat elsewhere, have been introduced into this controversy, concerning which, notwithstanding the assertions of Toland (*Nazarenus Part II. sect.* 3) and others, it is needless to add any thing further, it being at present universally admitted, that the whole fabric was founded on fiction; and it matters little what such a fabulous writer as Fordun might have thought as to the primitive nature of ecclesiastical government.

(131) See Usher, *Pr. p. 325 seqq.* and *Ind. Chron.*

(132) The words of Prosper, *Chron. Basso et Antiocho Coss.* (A. D. 431) are decisive on this point. "Ad Scotos in Christum *credentes* ordinatus a Papa Celestino Palladius *primus* Episcopus mittitur." This is the reading of Labbe's edition, which is considered as very accurate, *Nova Biblioth. MSS. librorum, Tom.* 1. The edition of Canisius and another from an Augsburg *MS.* both extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum, Lugdun. Tom.* 8. agree in substance with it. The former has "Ad Scotos in Christum *credentes* ordinatur a Papa Celestino Palladius et *primus* episcopus mittitur." The latter, "Ad Scotos in Christum *credentes* ordinatus a Papa Celestino Palladius *primus* episcopus missus est." Bede reads it also in a similar manner, as appears from his Chronicle and *Hist. Eccl. Angl. L.* 1. *c.* 13, in both of which he has the important words *Credentes* and *Primus.* Smith observes in a note to *c.* 13. now quoted, that the most ancient *MSS.* have these words. He says "*Credents—Primus.* Verba hæc sunt antiquissimorum Bedæ *MSS.* nec ullam mutationis admittunt suspicionem." The same reading is found in a heap of Chroniclers mentioned by Usher, (*p.* 799.) who however was inclined to prefer the reading of a certain copy of Prosper, in which the word *primus* happened to be omitted. But he was too good a critic to rely on that single authority, and accordingly endeavoured to make it appear that, admitting the genuineness of that word, it might be understood of Palladius having been the first sent of the two bishops appointed by Celestine for Ireland, whereas St. Patrick was the second; or that *primus* may be explained *primarius* or chief bishop. These are forced explanations, and never would have occurred to Usher,

had he not wished to support the credit of the stories concerning Ailbe, Declan, &c.; nor do they agree with what Prosper has elsewhere; for, speaking *(De Gratia Christi contrà Cassianum, cap.* 41.*)* of the spiritual benefit conferred upon the island by Celestine, he says simply, that he ordained a bishop for the inhabitants, *Ordinato Scotis episcopo*, whence it is clear that according to him they had no other bishop at that time; and Tillemont *(Not.* 1. *at St. Patrice)* was right in observing, that Usher's conjectures relative to *primus* were far from being solid. Some difficulties have been started also with regard to the word *Credentes*, chiefly founded on a passage of Nennius, *(Hist. Brit. cap.* 53) "Missus est Palladius episcopus primitus a Celestino Papa Romano ad Scotos in Christum *convertendos*." Hence it might be inferred, that Palladius's mission was to a land of mere heathens, among whom Christianity was until then scarcely heard of. Without entering into further disquisitions, it is sufficient to state, that the authority of Nennius, a comparatively late writer, does not deserve to be placed in competition with that of Prosper, who lived at the period of which we are treating and had the best opportunities of knowing the true state of Christianity in Ireland. Nennius, or whoever he borrowed that passage from, seems to have had the true text of Prosper before his eyes; but thinking it odd that Palladius should have been sent to a people, who were already believers, he changed *credentes* into *convertendos*, not reflecting that Prosper's object was not to exhibit Palladius as the first preacher of the Christian faith in Ireland, but as the first bishop appointed for the faithful there, and that it has frequently occurred, as the Bollandists justly observe *(Comment. Prævv. ad S. Patr.)* that bishops have not been appointed for countries until a certain number of Christians were already living in them. He retained from Prosper's text the words *in Christum*, which agree very well with *credentes*, but not so with *convertendos*.

§. XVI. The person chosen for this purpose was Palladius, a deacon of the Roman church or, as some writers have called him, archdeacon, (133) who had already distinguished himself by his exertions for the object of delivering Britain from the infection of the Pelagian heresy.(134) From this and some other circum-

stances it appears very probable, that he was a native of that country, (135) as he is expressly called in an old document quoted by Usher.(136) Being consecrated bishop he set out for Ireland accompanied by some missionaries, four of whom, Sylvester, Solonius, Augustin, and Benedict, are mentioned by name in some of St. Patrick's Lives.(137) Where he landed is not particularly recorded; but it is very probable it was not far from where Wexford now stands; for we find him soon after in the territory called Hy-garchon, (138) of which Nathi son of Garchon (139) was then sovereign. It seems his arrival in that country was rather early in the year 431, the year of his departure from Rome, (140) whereas some time must be allowed for the first operations of his mission, which appear to have been successful. The most authentic accounts of it agree in stating that, besides having baptized some persons, he erected three churches, one called Cell-fine, in which he deposited the sacred books, and some reliques of St. Peter and Paul and of other saints, which he had brought from Rome, besides his writing tablets, all of which were preserved there with veneration for a long time after; another called Teach-na-Roman, that is, the house of the Romans; and a third under the name of Domnach-arda. (141) These churches are generally supposed to have stood in the territory now called the county of Wicklow, (142) and Domnach-arda is stated to have given its name to Donard (143) a village in the interior of that county.

As soon as the news of the progress of the mission and of its advancement into the very heart of the country reached Rome and other parts of the continent, fame, as usual, added to the pleasing information, and excited a confident assurance of its general success throughout the whole island. Hence Prosper did not hesitate to say, that through the exertion of Pope Celestine Ireland was become a Christian country.(144)

Prosper was not acquainted, when he announced such joyful tidings, (145) with the change which in the mean time had occurred with regard to Palladius. The success of his exertions alarmed the sticklers for polytheism, and he was denounced to Nathi as a dangerous person. That prince entered warmly into the views of the opponents of Palladius, who accordingly feeling himself unable to resist their violence, and being ordered to quit the country, found it necessary to withdraw, leaving however some of his companions, (146) who as being less known were not so much objects of persecution, to take care of his converts (147) and watch the more favourable opportunities for propagating the Gospel. He sailed from Ireland towards the latter end of the same year A. D. 431, (148) and, after being tossed about by storms, arriving in Britain, with the intention of thence proceeding to Rome, died not long after at, as is commonly said, Fordun in the district of Mearns in Scotland. (149)

Whoever considers the foregoing circumstantial account of Palladius' mission given by ancient writers at a time, when no rivalry existed between the Irish and British Scots, must wonder that persons could have been found either so ignorant, or so infected with national vanity, as to maintain, that he was sent by Celestine not to Ireland but to Scotland, (150) and that the object of his mission was not to preside over a new church and to propagate the Gospel, but to eradicate the Pelagian heresy. (151.)

(133) See Usher, *p.* 802. Alemand in his superficial book, *Histoire Monastique d'Irlande*, makes (*Introd. p.* 2.) Palladius a Canon Regular. But there was no such Order then at Rome. (See below *Chap.* IV. §. 15.)

(134) In Prosper's *Chron. Coss. Florent. et Dionys.* (A. D. 429) *ed. Labb.* we read, "Actione Palladii diaconi Papa Celestinus Germanum Antissiodorensem episcopum vice sua mittit, et deturbatis hæreticis Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigit."

(135) See Lloyd *On Church, &c. Chap.* 2. § 4.

(136) *P.* 1043.

(137) Second Life in *Tr. Th. p.* 13. Jocelin, *cap.* 25, &c. See also Usher, *p.* 812. *seqq.*

(138) Colgan in a note *Tr. Th. p.* 9. says (and is followed by O'Flaherty and others) that Hy-Garchon is a maritime tract of the county of Wicklow; but the passage of Fiech's Scholiast, to which that note refers, runs thus: "Palladius—appulit in regione de Hy-Garchon in *extremis* Lageniæ finibus." And Marian Gorman, quoted by Colgan (*ib. p.* 374), speaking in his Calendar of a St. Ernineus has, "Ernineus, id est, Mernocus de *Rath-noi* in Hy-Garchon, id est, in *Fotharta* Lageniæ." By *Fotharta*, or, as pronounced in Irish, *Foharta*, most probably he meant a tract of country, of which the barony of Forth in Co. Wexford formed a part. The ancient Fotharta, or rather the seven districts of that name so called, as Keating and after him Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 143) inform us, from Eochaid Fionn Fothairt a prince of the second or third century, comprized a very great part of Leinster. The town of Wexford, or the site on which it has been built, was in Fotharta. (See Archdall at *Fionnagh.)* But, as Rathnoi, mentioned by Marian Gorman, seems to be the same as Rathnew a place within a few miles of Wicklow, on comparing this circumstance with Fotharta and Hy-Garchon being as if identified, and with the statement of Fiech's Scholiast that Palladius landed in Hy-Garchon at the *extremity* of Leinster, it appears probable that Hy-Garchon comprized a great part of the present counties of Wicklow and Wexford, and that the landing place of Palladius was in some part of the latter county rather than of the former. Add to this that Nathi seems to have been a powerful prince and of sufficient weight to force Palladius to quit Ireland, and consequently sovereign of a more extensive country than a maritime district of the county of Wicklow. It may seem odd, that neither Hy-Garchon nor even Fotharta are mentioned by Harris, *Antiq.* or Beauford, *Ancient Topography of Ireland*, in Vallancey's *Collectan. Vol. 3d;* but I have frequently found, that those and other accounts of the ancient divisions of Ireland are very imperfect.

(139) According to O'Flaherty, *(Ogygia vindicated, chap.* 16.) the words, *son of Garchon*, are not to be understood as if Nathi was the immediate son of Garchon, but that he was of the family of

Garchon, and prince of the sept and country called Hy-Garchon, which name was derived from Garchon or Garchuo a personage well known in Irish history, and whose genealogy O'Flaherty, *ib.* traces up to Conchabar a king of Ireland in the first century.

(140) See above *Not.* 132.

(141) In the second Life of St. Patrick, which the Bollandists considered as one of the best, we read, *cap.* 24. " Nam beatissimus Papa Celestinus Romanæ ecclesiæ archidiaconum nomine Palladium episcopum ordinavit, et in Hyberniam insulam, traditis sibi beati Petri et Pauli et aliorum sanctorum reliquiis, veteris quoque et novi testamenti voluminibus datis, transmisit. Palladius terram Scotorum intrans in Lageniensium fines pervenit, ubi Nathi filius Garrchon comes erat, qui sibi contrarius erat. Aliis vero, divina misericordia stimulante ad divinum cultum, beatus Palladius in nomine S. Trinitatis baptizatis tres ecclesias in eodem pago construxit; unam quæ dicitur Cell-fine, in qua usque hodie libros suos, quos a S. Celestino accepit, reliquit, et capsam reliquiarum B. Petri et Pauli sanctorumque aliorum, et tabulas, in quibus scribere solebat, quas ex ipsius nomine Scotice *Pall-ere* (al. *Pallad-erc)* id est, onus Palladii vocant, cum veneratione habentur; alteram, id est, Thech-na-Roman; tertiam Domnach-ardec, (al. *Domnach-aracha)* in qua sunt (requiescunt) sancti viri de familia Palladii Sylvester et Salonius et ibi honorantur." Fiech's Scholiast says §. 13; " Palladius ibi (in Hy-Garchon) fundavit ecclesias aliquot, nempe Teach-na-Roman, *ædem Romanorum*, Kill-fine, et alias." An ancient author, quoted by Usher, (*p.* 812) agrees as to the three churches, and adds at Domnach-arte " quam *dicavit* Silvestro et Solonio;" that is erected for their use and to be governed by them. Hence we may explain the origin of the mistake committed by the author of Usher's Tripartite (*p.* 813.) in attributing the construction of that church and also of Teach-na-Roman to the disciples of Palladius. In the fourth Life of St. Patrick (*cap.* 28.) we are first told that Palladius erected three churches, one of which was Cell-fine, and then it is said that his disciples built Teach-na-Roman, and a *third* church called *Dominica Arda*. Together with this incoherent statement, the author tells us that Palladius remained but a few days in Ireland, as if he could have made in so short a time as many converts as would require three churches.

Jocelin has also (*cap.* 25.) three churches, as erected by Palladius, and over which he left some of his disciples; and in Colgan's Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 38.) they are mentioned by name and with all the circumstances given in the above quoted passage of the second Life.

(142) After a lapse of so many centuries it must be very difficult to determine the particular situation of those churches. As to Cell-fine or Kill-fine, none of our antiquaries have attempted to mention the place where it stood. Teach-na-Roman is placed, under the name of *Teachromham*, by Archdall, (*Monast. Hib.*) near the harbour of Wicklow. This he has done, as far as I can understand, on no other authority than on the supposition that the territory of Hy-Garchon did not extend far beyond that neighbourhood. For I do not find any church or place of that name in the modern topography of that country. Nor had he any right to say that Palladius founded an abbey there, as it was nothing more than a church with probably an habitation annexed for a few missionaries.

(143) Archdall *Mon. Hib.* and Seward *Topogr. Hib.* at *Donard.*

(144) Speaking of Celestine he says, *Lib. de gratia Christi contra Cassianum. cap.* 41. " Nec segniore cura ab hoc eodem morbo (Pelagiano) Britannias liberavit, quando quosdam inimicos gratiæ, solum suæ originis occupantes, etiam ab illo secreto exclusit oceani: et ordinato Scotis episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam *Barbaram Christianam*." I hope none of my countrymen will be offended at the epithet *Barbaram* given by Prosper to Ireland. Whatever country did not form a part of the Roman empire was so called at that period. But there was a time, when that epithet was applied to Rome itself, considered relatively to Greece. Thus Plautus, *Prol. ad Trinummum;* " Huic nomen Græce est *Thesauro* fabulæ. Philemo scripsit, Plautus vertit *barbare*." Prosper's words have been strangely misunderstood by some writers. Ware, (*Annot. ad Op. S. Patr. p.* 107.) could not reconcile *fecit Barbaram Christianam* with *Scotos in Christum credentes*, of which above, *Note* 132. He interprets *Barbaram* by *infidelem*, and supposes that Prosper's meaning was that Ireland was quite an infidel country before Palladius' mission. But surely there is a great difference between a

country, in which some Christians may be found, and one in which Christianity is spread far and wide, as Prosper imagined was the case in Ireland after he had heard of the progress Palladius had made at first. Ware would fain strike out the word *credentes*, but finding the authorities for it too stubborn he says, that it is probably to be referred to the time when Prosper wrote his Chronicle, which was several years after he had written the tract against Cassian, and at which time the greatest part of Ireland was become Christian through the preaching of St. Patrick. This explanation is too absurd to merit any attention. It comes to this; Palladius was sent in the year 431 to the Scots, who were believers in Christ about the year 450. O'Flaherty (*Ogygia vindicated, chap.* 15.) stumbled upon a similar explanation of the word *credentes* in consequence of supposing, that by the *Scots believing in Christ*, as Prosper expressed himself, the whole nation was to be understood. Lloyd also, (*On Church, &c. chap.* 2. §. 4.) found himself puzzled in endeavouring to explain, how the island could be said to have been made Christian in Palladius' time, whereas in truth it was not; but at last he comes to this solution of the difficulty; "I should rather think with bishop Usher (*Prim. p.* 798.) that those words were only a good omination of Prosper's upon the sending of Palladius thither *possibly* upon his hearing at first better news than proved afterwards true." That *possibly* is not in Usher, and it is plain that Prosper had actually heard favourable accounts of Palladius' mission, although exaggerated, as Usher observes, by the trumpet of fame.

(145) Usher has with his usual sagacity observed, (*p.* 798.) that Prosper's book against Cassian was written not long after the mission of Palladius. Hence we may easily infer, that he had not then heard of the reverse, which Palladius met with.

(146) According to Jocelin (*cap.* 25) he left Augustin, Benedict, Sylvester, and Solonius in Ireland. Probus, (*Vita S. Patr. L.* 1. *c.* 25.) makes mention of Augustin and Benedict as having been in Britain with Palladius after his departure from Ireland. And in the other Lives of St. Patrick Sylvester and Solonius alone are spoken of as having remained behind, and being buried at Donnach-arda or Donard; (2d Life *c.* 24.—4th *c.* 28—Colgan's *Trip. L.* 1. *c.* 38.) See above *Note* 141.

(147) Some writers speak in general terms of Palladius' mission

as if had been nearly fruitless; see Usher *p.* 812—814. But their words must be understood as referring to his not having succeeded in converting the great body of the nation, which was reserved by the Almighty for St. Patrick; and hence the adage so common in Ireland, "Not to Palladius but to Patrick did God grant the conversion of Ireland."

(148) See Usher *p.* 814. All accounts agree that his stay in Ireland was not long, although not so short as to be confined to a few days. The Annals of Innisfallen (*ad A.* 431) state, that he remained one year in Ireland.

(149) Fiech's Scholiast in *Tr. Th. p.* 5 says of him; "Coactus circuire oras Hiberniæ versus aquilonem, donec tandem *tempestate magna* pulsus venerit ad extremam partem *Modhaid* versus Austrum, ubi fundavit ecclesiam Fordun; et *Pledi* est nomen ejus ibi." An old writer quoted by Usher (*p.* 814) says; "Palladius vero reversus est ut iret Romam, sed mortuus est in regione Britonum." By the part of Britain, in which he died, is to be understood the country of the Picts, as appears from Nennius, Probus, Jocelin, and others quoted by Usher, (*p.* 812) as also from the 2d Life of St. Patrick, (*cap.* 23) the 4th Life (*cap.* 28.) and Colgan's Tripartite *L.* 1. *c.* 38. They all agree as to *terra Pictorum.* The last mentioned work has; "Et cum ad suos reverti statuisset, *morbo correptus* in terra Cruthiniorum sive Pictorum decessit." From so many concurrent testimonies it is evident, that the story of his having suffered martyrdom in Ireland (see Usher *p.* 814, and the 4th Life of St. Patrick, *cap.* 28.) was entirely without foundation, not to enlarge upon the silence of Prosper and of the Roman and other martyrologies as to such an event. Fordun or Fordoun, a small town in Kircandineshire or Mearns, which formed a part of Pictland, is stated not only by Scottish writers, (*ap.* Usher *p.* 671) but likewise in some old Irish documents to have been the place of his death. For instance, in the second Life of St. Patrick, *cap.* 21, we read; "Post parvum intervallum (after his leaving Ireland) defunctus est Palladius in *campo Girgin*, in loco qui dicitur Forddun: dicunt vero alii *martyrio coronatum* esse eum illic." As to this martyrdom at Fordoun there is as little foundation for it, as for that in Ireland; the Picts of that part of Great Britain were at that time, at least a great proportion of them, Christians. *Campus Girgin* in Irish *Mag-Girgin*

(O'Flaherty marginal note to *Tr. Th. p.* 248) is the tract since called by corruption Mearns. By the country, which Fiech's Scholiast calls *Modhaid*, I should imagine he meant that of the Mæatæ, under whose name and that of Caledonians seem to have been comprized at a certain period all such parts of Great Britain as were not subject to the Romans. (See Usher, *p.* 1032.) If Fordun was a town of the Mæatæ, it will follow that some tribes of that name lived much more to the northward than Camden, who placed them in Northumberland, or H. Lhuyd who assigned to them the country about Lothian, were inclined to admit. (See Gibson's Camden *col.* 1065.) The memory of Palladius is still revered at Fordun, under the name of *Paldi* or *Pad*, and a chapel adjacent to a church is called Palladius' chapel. (Playfair's *Geography* at *Fordoun.*) It may be inquired how Palladius, after leaving Ireland, happened to arrive at a place so remote and in the North East of Britain. According to Fiech's Scholiast he had been driven by a storm as far as that country, and consequently should have sailed round the North of Scotland. It seems, however, more probable, that he landed somewhere in the North West, and thence continued his course by land until he arrived at Fordun, where he fell sick. I am inclined to think, that he wished to visit the newly converted Christians of that part of Scotland, *viz.* the Southern Picts, who, as Bede informs us, (*Eccl. Hist. L.* 3. *c.* 4.) had been instructed by the celebrated Ninian bishop of Candida casa, Whitehern in Galloway, now Whithorn in Wigtonshire, and whose country was included between the frith of Forth and the Grampian hills. (See Usher, *p.* 668.) The day of Palladius' death is variously given; 15th December, 25th December (both A. D. 431.) 27th January, and 6th July (A. D. 432.) See Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 18. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. vind. chap.* 16. and below *Chap.* IV. *Not.* 153.

(150) It would be tiresome to repeat the fables of John Fordon, Hector Boethius, Polydore Virgil, and others concerning Palladius' arrival about the year 429 at Fordoun, by order of Pope Celestine; how splendidly he was received by Eugenius king of the Scots; how well treated were his followers by king Dongard successor of Eugenius; and how, during many years, which he spent among the Scots in Britain, he ordained bishops and archbishops, sent missionaries to the Orkney islands, &c. &c. A heap of this stuff has

been collected by Usher, *p.* 670. *seqq.* Now the fact is that Fordoun was not comprized in any Scottish kingdom until some hundreds of years afterwards, whereas, according to those same writers, the conquest of the country of the Picts, to which Fordoun belonged, by Kenneth, son of Alpin, did not take place until about the year 839. See Usher *p.* 715 *seqq.* and *Ind. Chr.* ad *A.* 838. Nor was there any such kingdom in G. Britain at the period we are treating of. Not to fatigue the reader with further authorities, Chalmers shows, *(Caledonia, Book* 2. *Chap.* 6.*)* where he has collected almost every thing that could be said on the subject, that the Scottish kingdom in the West of N. Britain did not commence until the year 503 under Loarn, who was succeeded by his brother Fergus. See also above *Note* 29. Besides all our old domestic historians, who agree as to Palladius having been sent to Ireland, we have Nennius, who, after mentioning his want of success, says that he went from Ireland to Britain; "Et profectus est ille Palladius de Hibernia, pervenitque ad Britanniam, et ibi defunctus est in terra Pictorum." Hist. Brit. *cap.* 53. Prosper's mention of an island as the theatre of Palladius' exertions, an island distinct from Britain (see above *Not.* 144) is another incontrovertible argument against the foolish pretensions of Fordon and his followers; the name of *island* could never have been given to what is now called Scotland. This argument has terribly puzzled some Scotch zealots. Poor Sir G. Mackenzie endeavoured to show, that Scotland might have been called an island in consequence of the Roman wall, by which it was separated from the rest of Britain. He might as well have said that China is an island on account of the great wall, that had been raised to keep out the Tartars. For a refutation of this silly evasion I refer to *Ogygia Vind. Chap.* 15. The same nonsense is repeated in Skinner's *Eccl. History of Scotland, Letter IV.* in which we are told, that by the *barbaram insulam* Prosper meant the *barbarous* part of Britain, and that the country beyond the friths might be called an island. This is exactly in the manner of that notorious liar Dempster, Baron of Muresk, who in his rhapsodies here and there, ex. c. *Menolog. Scot.* at 14th March says, that the mountainous parts of Scotland were called Ireland. It is no wonder then, that some learned Scots now living reject the authority of such fabulous scribblers, or *nu-*

gatores, as Pinkerton calls H. Boethius, Dempster, &c. *(Pref.* to *Vitæ antiquæ sanctorum, qui habitaverunt in ea parte Britanniæ nunc vocata Scotia, &c.)* See also Chalmers, *Caledonia, passim.* I shall conclude this subject with referring the curious reader to Usher *p.* 671. Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 245. *seqq.* Lloyd on *Church, &c. Chap.* 2. §. 4. Stillingfleet, *Antiq. Pref.* and *Chap.* 2. O'Flaherty *Ogyg. Vind.* &c.

(151) No ancient writer has said that Palladius was sent to Britain for that purpose, although he had been instrumental in procuring the mission of St. German. (See above *Not.* 134.) But to admit with Prosper and all others, who had treated of him, that he was sent to a nation as yet little advanced in Christianity, ill accorded with the Scottish stories concerning the flourishing state of religion in N. Britain since the time of Pope Victor and the beginning of the third century. Accordingly Boethius and some other authors of the like stamp found it necessary to give a new object to his mission. They have been followed by Buchanan, *(Rer. Scot. L.* 5. at *king Dongard)* Spotswood, *(History of the Church, &c. of Scotland, B.* 1.) Mackenzie, &c. This unfounded notion seems to be still prevalent with some people in Scotland; for I find in the *Statistical Account* of that country, compiled by Sir J. Sinclair, Palladius spoken of as having been sent by Pope Celestin to oppose the Pelagian heresy! *Vol.* IV. *p.* 499, at *Fordoun.*

CHAPTER II.

The existence of St. Patrick demonstrated. Objections to it answered.

SECT. I.

THE great work of the general conversion of the people of Ireland was reserved by the Almighty for the ministry of St. Patrick according to the Irish adage, that *not to Palladius but to Patrick did God grant the conversion of Ireland.* (1.) Notwith-

standing this adage and the constant testimony and tradition of all the old writers and inhabitants of the country, corroborated by the universal consent of all the ecclesiastical historians, who have touched upon the affairs of Ireland, and the extraordinary reputation, which our great Apostle has enjoyed throughout the Christian world, some persons have ventured to throw out certain ridiculous objections against the very existence of so celebrated a saint. A Dr. Ryves, a Master in Chancery about the year 1618, had some doubts concerning the time, at which St. Patrick lived, but did not dare to contest his existence. (2) This audacious paradox was to appear in our own times, and has been ushered into the world by Dr. Ledwich in that book, to which he has given the title of *The Antiquities of Ireland*. Whether he be the original inventor of it, or, as rumour says, the copyist of some papers on this subject handed over to him by a late ingenious Irishman very little versed in Ecclesiastical history, who, it seems, was ashamed to announce it in his own name, is of small consequence; and Dr. Ledwich must remain responsible for this daring outrage on learning and truth. As to Ryves, who having applied to Usher on the subject wished also to consult Camden, Usher, enclosing a letter of his, thus writes to the latter; (3) "I gave him good leave to discredit, as much as he list, that pack of ridiculous miracles, which latter writers had fastened upon St. Patrick, but wished him in no wise to touch the credit of that worthy man himself, nor to question his succession to Palladius, nor to *cast him unto lower times*, contrary to the consent of all writers, that ever make mention of him." Camden agreed with Usher as to the *ridiculous* miracles being fabricated by late writers, and consequently affording no argument against the true history of St. Patrick. The mighty Ledwich, coming forward to support Ryves, accuses those two great men of "deviating strangely from strict veracity." "For (he continues)

the Roman martyrology, Erric of Auxerre, Nennius and others never omit St. Patrick's miracles, when they name him; they are both coeval and from the same mint." (4) What a medley of equivocation and bad reasoning? The Roman martyrology has in general terms at 17 *Mart.* that St. Patrick was distinguished by very great miracles and virtues; *maximis miraculis et virtutibus claruit.* Erric of Auxerre merely says, (*De Miraculis S. Germani, cap.* 12.) that St. Patrick illustrated Ireland by his learning, miracles and virtues, &c. "*Eam* (Hiberniam) *doctrina, miraculis nunc quoque et in perpetuum mirificis apostolatus sui illustrabat* (Patricius) *privilegiis.*" Nennius indeed goes farther, (*Hist. Brit. cap.* 58.) attributing to him the healing of the blind, lepers, and deaf, casting out devils, as likewise the recalling of some persons to life; "*Sanctus itaque Patricius Evangelium Christi prædicabat, virtutes apostolicas faciebat, cæcos illuminabat, leprosos mundabat, surdos audire faciebat, dæmones ex obsessis corporibus fugabat, mortuos IX resuscitavit.*" Will the Doctor say, that these were *ridiculous* miracles? If so, he must apply the same epithet to those of the Gospel. This is not the sort of miracles that Usher alluded to, but some truly ridiculous ones, related by Jocelin, and in two or three other Lives of St. Patrick, none of which, however, occur in Fiech's hymn or in his Scholiast. Many similar foolish miracles are attributed to St. Dunstan and others. But surely no man of common sense would thence conclude, that such persons never existed. The fact is, that stories of that kind are in themselves strong proofs of their having existed, and of their having been held in great estimation.

The other argument adduced by Ryves was founded on the silence of Platina, (at Pope Celestine) concerning St. Patrick, although he had mentioned the mission of Palladius. Upon this Usher remarks in the above quoted letter; "You easily may see what little credit the testimony (or the silence rather)

of so late an author, as Platina is, may carry to bear down the constant agreement of all our own writers." Ledwich does Platina the honour to say, (5) that "few were more conversant in ecclesiastical history than he." This alone is sufficient to show, how little the Doctor knows about ecclesiastical history; and every one, who has read Platina's meagre accounts of the Popes, cannot but perceive, that they are miserably deficient and frequently incorrect. The fact however is, that Platina in the few words, which he has about Palladius having been sent to the Scots, merely followed Prosper; nor was he bound to mention the mission of St. Patrick, as it was sufficient, according to his abridged method, to name the chief of that mission, who was Palladius. For, as we shall see hereafter, St. Patrick had been already appointed a member of that same mission, and not, as many have thought, newly constituted for that purpose by Celestine after Palladius' death. It might as well be asked, why did not Platina, or Prosper before him, give us the names of such of the members of that mission, as accompanied Palladius to Ireland; for surely no one will imagine, that he went all alone upon such an important errand. In the same manner Platina *(ib.)* mentions the mission of St. German to Britain, without saying a word concerning Lupus of Troyes or his other companions.

(1) Jocelin *cap.* 25. Usher *p.* 813.

(2) The sceptical conjecture of Maurice, *Defence, &c. cap.* Ledwich, *(Antiq. p.* 364, first edition, the one which I usually quote) thrown out without any sort of argument, is not worth the pains of inquiring into. I do not find in Hanmer any denial of the existence of St. Patrick, as Dr. O'Conor insinuates, *Columbanus' third Letter, p.* 48. 53. What Hanmer says (*Chron.*) is, that the Christian religion did not *first begin* in Ireland by St. James the Apostle, nor by St. Patrick. He then talks of Colman, who baptized Declan, and relates the old stories about the said Declan, Ailbe, Kieran, and Ibar. Next he proceeds to an account of St.

Patrick, which he gives in the usual manner, without the least indication of his having doubted of his existence. As to Keating's answers to Hanmer mentioned *ib.* (*p.* 53) they have nothing to do with the present question. Keating's animadversions on Hanmer (*Pref.* to *History of Ireland*) refer to his having said, that St. Patrick ought not to be called the first Apostle of Ireland, to something observed by Hanmer about Patrick's purgatory, and to other trifling matters. Dr. Ledwich must not be robbed of the honour of being the first writer, that has exerted his powers to strip St. Patrick both of soul and body.

(3) Usher's Letters; *No.* 33. (4) *Antiq. p.* 363. (5) *Ib.*

§. II. Having now done with Ryves, let us see what Ledwich gives us from himself. He does not scruple to say; (6) "It is an undoubted fact that St. Patrick is not mentioned by any author or in any work of veracity in the 5th, 6th, 7th or 8th centuries;" and he adds that Nennius and Erric of Auxerre, who lived in the ninth, are the oldest writers, that make mention of him. In answer to this false and, as will soon be seen, wilfully false statement, I shall first adduce St. Patrick himself, of whom there are two tracts still extant, one entitled his Confession, and the other his Letter against Coroticus. Not to anticipate what the reader will find elsewhere (7) concerning these most valuable documents, it is sufficient at present to observe that, besides their being considered as genuine by Ware, who first published them (8) from very ancient manuscripts, by the Bollandists, (who gave a new edition of them (9) from a *MS.* different from those used by Ware) and by Tillemont, (10) &c. &c. they bear internal marks of their high antiquity. Of these I shall here mention but one, which has been already noticed by Tillemont. In the Letter against Coroticus St. Patrick says, that "it was the custom of the Roman and Gallic Christians to send holy men with large sums of money to the *Franks* and other nations (or Gentiles) to redeem the baptized captives. (11)" This letter there-

fore must have been written while the Franks were still pagans, and consequently before A. D 496, the year that Clovis and his followers became Christians. The fervour of Clovis after his conversion is too well known to leave any doubt, that any of his Franks would have dared to make Christian captives after that period. But the fact is, that the Franks were still hovering on the frontiers of Gaul, when the Letter was written, and had not yet advanced much into that country, their progress having been but slow until after the decisive battle of Soissons in the year 486. It is ludicrous enough to observe, how the Doctor refers to the very passage now quoted as a proof of the Letter not being genuine. "Whoever" he says (12) "writ this was but little acquainted with the state of Italy under the Gothic princes, or of the French under the Merovingians." What has the state of Italy to do with the question? Is it because *Roman* Christians are spoken of? The Doctor seems not to know, what every one moderately versed in history is acquainted with, that the name, *Romans*, used to be given to the Roman colonists and their descendants, who were settled in the provinces belonging to the Roman empire. Thus there were Romans living in Britain, which Prosper calls a Roman island; Romans living in Gaul, to whom St. Patrick alludes, Romans in Spain, &c. The truth is, that no one but a person well informed of the state, not of France but of Gaul before it became France, and of the predatory incursions of the Franks before their conversion to Christianity, could have written in the manner we have seen.

This mighty critic declares the Confession to be a rhapsody of travels, miracles, &c. (13). It is not, however, a rhapsody of misrepresentations and sophisms. It is really a most edifying tract, breathing all through sentiments of the most profound humility and a zeal truly apostolical. I allow that such profane scoffers at truth and religion, as Ledwich,

cannot feel any relish in the perusal of such works. There is scarcely any miracle mentioned in it, and in the visions therein recorded we find nothing puerile or unworthy of the operation of the Almighty. Tillemont was so struck with the spirit, that pervades it and the letter against Coroticus, that he considered St. Patrick as more like the Prophets and Apostles than the other saints who appeared after them. (14) The Doctor urges against the authenticity of the Confession the omission of some circumstances, which are mentioned in some of St. Patrick's Lives, *ex. c.* his "relationship to St. Martin and his advancement to the episcopate of Ireland by Pope Celestine." One would imagine, that such omissions should be considered by him as proofs of its authenticity, whereas he rejects those very circumstances as fabulous, (15) where it suits his plan to do so. The works, in which such matters occur, are denounced by our Aristarchus as fabulous; but here comes a work in which they do *not* occur; therefore, he says, it is spurious. Bravo, thou mighty reformer of Irish history! As to the rest, St. Patrick's object in writing the Confession was not to give an entire history of his own life.

(6) *Antiq. p.* 375. (7) Below *Chap.* VI. VII.

(8) *S. Patric.—Opuscula. London*, 1656.

(9) At 17 *Mart.* The Bollandists or, as Ledwich calls them, Bollandus, (for he seems not to know, that after the death of Bollandus there were such men as Henschenius, Papebrochius, &c. who continued with extraordinary learning and judgment the great work first undertaken by him) are on one occasion, together with Tillemont, favourites with our Doctor, "liberal, learned, and enlightened Roman Catholics" (*p.* 366.) because they have said, that several of the writers of St. Patrick's Lives were very fabulous. They, however, admitted and maintained the authenticity of those two tracts of St. Patrick. Nor is it true that, as he states, *(ib.)* Bollandus, *i. e.* the Bollandists, declared the whole of the Irish sanctology to be a "compilation of arrant fablers, and

not older than the 12th century." For, besides their acknowledging that some of those Lives of St. Patrick were derived from more ancient documents, yet with many interpolations, *ex. c.* Colgan's *Tripartite*, they allow, with regard to other parts of what Ledwich calls the *Irish sanctology*, that many of the Lives of our saints are very ancient, such as those of Pulcherius, Ytha, Maidoc, &c. See at *Pulcherius*, 13 *Mart.*

(10) *Memoires*, &c. *Tom.* 16. at *St. Patrice.* I am really astonished at Dr. O'Conor's assertion (*Columbanus*' 3*d Letter*, *p.* 49.) that St. Patrick's Epistles are rejected as spurious by Tillemont. Under the name *Epistles* he must have meant to include that against Coroticus, and I know of no other epistle now extant as supposed to be of St. Patrick, unless his Confession may be so called, as it seems to have been by some persons. (See Ware's *Præf. ad Opusc.* &c.) Dr. Milner, whom Dr. O'Conor was animadverting upon, had appealed to the Confession and the *Ep. ad Corot.* (*Tour in Ireland*, *Letter* XI.) Hence I suppose, that Dr. O'Conor comprized the Confession under the title of *Epistles.* Now Tillemont expressly maintains the genuineness of both tracts, and lays it down that they are the surest authorities for a true Life of St. Patrick. He doubts indeed of the Canons, that go under St. Patrick's name, being entitled to so remote a date, but does not insinuate the least suspicion against the antiquity of either the Confession or the Letter.

(11) "Consuetudo Romanorum et Gallorum Christianorum; mittunt viros sanctos idoneos ad *Francos* et cæteras *gentes* cum tot mil. solidorum ad redimendos captivos baptizatos." It is probable, that by *gentes* he meant gentiles, in which sense I find it used in the Confession, *p.* 7. Ware's *Ed.* Whether or not is of little consequence, whereas the Franks, who used to carry off Christian captives, could not have been Christians themselves at that time.

(12) *P.* 161. (13) *P.* 160.

(14) *Memoires*, &c. at *St. Patrice*, *Art.* 1.

(15) See *p.* 371, 372, and the whole of *Chap.* XV.

§. III. The Canons attributed to St. Patrick, (16) and in which his name so often occurs, afford another invincible argument against Ledwich's assertion. I

will not now inquire, whether they were all collected during St. Patrick's life time, or all actually delivered by him or in synods held under his presidency; but this much I can state as certain, that several of them were drawn up at a time, when paganism was far from being extinct in Ireland. Among the canons of the synod of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus the eighth begins thus: "Clericus si pro *gentili* homine fidejussor fuerit." In the thirteenth we read; "Eleemosynam a *Gentibus* offerendam in Ecclesiam recipi non licet." And in the fourteenth; "Christianus qui—more *Gentilium* ad aruspicem meaverit." See also *Can.* 20. 24. From these Canons it appears, that Pagans were generally mixed with Christians at the time they were framed. Now it is certain that since, at the latest, the middle of the sixth century (17) very few traces of paganism were to be found in Ireland; and from that period the zeal of the holy men of this country for propagating the Gospel began to be directed to foreign parts, as there was little or no necessity for their exertions at home. Witness the spiritual labours of Columb-kill, Columbanus, Gallus, &c. Accordingly, should it be even admitted, which however I see no reason for, that the above quoted canons were not made by our Apostle, yet, as they existed before the middle of the sixth century, and were given to the public in his name, it is plain that he must have been well known in Ireland at that distant period.

(16) They have been published by Ware, (*Opusc. S. P.*) Spelman, (*Concil. Vol.* 1.) and Wilkins (*Concil. M. Britanniæ et Hiberniæ Vol.* 1.). Several of them, together with other Irish Canons, have been published also by D'Achery (*Spicilegium Tom.* 9, and in De la Barre's edition *Tom.* 1.). Dachery in a *Monitum* says, that the whole of them were made before the eighth century. Martene and Durand have added some more old Irish Canons. (*Thesaur. nov. Anecdot. Tom.* 4.)

(17) It is scarcely worth while to notice a Ledwich-like assertion of Campbell, who in his flimsy book, *Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary history of Ireland*, objecting to the rapid progress of Christianity in this country says, *p.* 98, that in *after-ages*, that is, after St. Patrick's time, paganism was found "loitering in the land, and sometimes maintaining its ascendancy in the highest stations." And yet for his *after-ages* he appeals only to the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh. According to him Dermod, monarch of Ireland, who, having reigned 20 years, was killed in battle about the year 560 (4 Masters, and Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 6—450—663.) was a pagan. If so, he was a strange sort of one; for it was he, who granted to the great Kieran Clonmacnois, the island Inis-Aingean, and very many other places for his monasteries; Usher *Pr. p.* 957. As to his transactions with Columbkill, to which Campbell alludes in a very ignorant manner, and of which O'Donnel has written largely in his Life of Columbkill, it is sufficient at present to observe that, so far from showing that he was not a Christian, they prove directly the reverse. I wish Campbell had told us where he read that Dermod had a Druid in his retinue; he had, I kown, bards or poets according to the custom of the Irish princes; but those bards were Christians. Then he says that Congall, who reigned in the beginning of the 7th century, was a pagan, and is said to have burnt all the clergy at Kildare. Now there was no Congall king of Ireland at that time, nor is there the least mention, in any authentic document, of such burning of the clergy at that period. There was a Conal (or Congal) who together with his brother Cellach began to reign over Ireland A. D. 642, (Usher *Ind. Chron.*) but they were both Christians. A king of the name of Congal reigned in the beginning of the eighth century. O'Flaherty says he began to reign A. D. 704, and that his reign lasted seven years; *Ogygia, p.* 432. Some stories had been fabricated concerning him, as if he had been a persecutor of the Church, and committed great atrocities at Kildare, of which, however, not one word is to be met with in the detailed account of that place given by Colgan, *Tr. Th.* and Archdall *Mon. Hibern.* &c. &c. Keating has these stories, *Book* 2. at *A. D.* 693. Warner adds that Congal was a pagan; *Hist. of Ireland p.* 315. Campbell followed Warner, but he mistook the eighth for the seventh cen-

tury. The least knowledge of Irish history is sufficient to show, that the nation would not have recognized a pagan sovereign at that period. So far from Congal being a pagan and a persecutor, his reign was remembered with gratitude as prosperous and peaceable, and himself represented as a beneficent prince. O'Flaherty quotes an Irish distich to that purpose. See also O'Halloran, *Hist. of Irel. Book* IX. *Chap.* 5. He is spoken of as a Christian in Colgan's *AA. SS. p.* 454—744, &c. was a near relative of Dunchad, who became Abbot of Hy in the year 710, and grandson of the pious king Donald the second. (See *Tr. Th. p.* 448.) Next he quotes a passage full of lies from a so called Life of Gildas, the falshood of which Usher had exposed long ago, *Pr. p.* 907. and after him Colgan *AA. SS. p.* 189. *seqq.* To their remarks I shall merely add, that, as the blundering author of that stuff to other praises of his saint adds that of having refuted and reclaimed heretics in Ireland, it would follow, according to him, that Christianity had been already widely diffused through the country. The fact however is, that no heresy existed among us in Gildas' time, for which we have the authority of the great S. Columbanus, who survived him by some years, and who writing to a Pope asserted, that Ireland had never yet been tainted with heresy. "*Nullus hæreticus, nullus Judæus, nullus schismaticus fuit.*" So much for, as Ledwich calls him, *p.* 159, "the learned and ingenious Dr. Campbell, whose talents and accomplishments do honour to his native country." Yet this pair of worthies do not always coincide in opinion; for Campbell did not call in question the existence of St. Patrick; but on the contrary, as if knowing what his comrade was about to give to the world, he writes, *p.* 87; "Nor should it impeach the history of St. Patrick, that its unlearned writers have interspersed it with miracle and blemished it by fable. Livy abounds with prodigies, yet Livy is the prince of historians," &c.

§. IV. I shall pass over the Irish hymn or Metrical account of St. Patrick attributed to Fiech bishop of Sletty, who certainly lived in the fifth century. The Bollandists and some other judicious critics doubt of his having been the author of it. But it does not follow, that it is not very ancient, and most pro-

bably not later than the seventh, or perhaps the sixth century. The discussion, however, of this point might lead us too far at present. For the same reason I shall not here enlarge on the argument furnished by the Latin hymn ascribed to Secundinus one of St. Patrick's first companions,(18) and in which the saint is spoken of as still living. From the style and other circumstances it is easy to perceive, that it was composed long before the Doctor's favourite century, the ninth, as will evidently appear lower down.

(18) See below, *Not.* 28.

§. v. In the seventh century we have a witness of unquestioned authority, Cummian author of the learned letter to Segienus, abbot of Hy, concerning the Paschal question (19) This letter was written, according to Usher's calculation, in the year 634,(20) and is more than once highly praised and even analyzed by Ledwich. Cummian arguing from various cycles refers in the first place to that, "which," he says, "St. Patrick our Pope brought with him. (21)" This was well known to the Doctor, who, it appears, had read the whole epistle with attention, and even tells his readers that Cummian "enters on an account of the various cycles, as those of *Patrick*, Anatolius, Theophilus," &c. (22) But in another place, (23) giving likewise an analysis of the same epistle, and referring to the cycles adduced by Cummian, he omits that of Patrick, while he carefully mentions those of Anatolius, Theophilus, Cyril, &c. What shall we say of such a proceeding as this? Is it not a wilful suppression of the truth, and a shameless imposition on the public? Or what can we think of a man, who, knowing that Cummian had spoken of St. Patrick, as the Pope or bishop of the Irish nation, has the effrontery to appeal to that same Cummian to prove, that St. Patrick was an ideal personage ?(24)

(19) It is the 11th letter in Usher's *Sylloge Ep. Hibern.*

(20) *Pr. p.* 937 and *Ind. Chron.*

(21) " Primum illum, quem sanctus Patricius Papa noster tulit —secundo Anatolium—tertio Theophilum," &c. In ancient times the title *Papa, i. e. Father,* used to be given to other bishops besides the bishop of Rome.

(22) *Antiq. p.* 63. (23) *p.* 169. (24) See *p.* 368.

§. VI. A very interesting document, belonging to the same century, has been published by Mabillon. (25) It consists of Litanies for the use of the Anglican church in that age. He found them together with a copy of the Psalms in the library of Rheims, written in the old Anglo-Saxon characters. Besides St. Gregory the great and other saints prior to that period, they contain the names of St. Patrick, St. Brindan (Brendan), St. Carnach, St. Munna, Columcille, St. Brigid, &c. Not one of the saints famous in England about the latter end of the seventh century is mentioned in them ; not Cuthbert, Wilfrid, Aidan, Aldhelm, Laurentius, Mellitus, &c. whose names would certainly not have been omitted, had those Litanies been of a later period.

The *Antiphonarium Benchorense* is probably of equal antiquity. It belonged to the monastery of Bangor in the county of Down, and is now in the Ambrosian library of Milan, whither it was removed from the monastery of Bobio. It has been published by Muratori, who considered it as written in the seventh or, at least, the eighth century. (26) Dr. O'Conor maintains, that it must have been written before the year 691. (27) It contains a hymn in honour of St. Patrick *teacher of the Scots.* (28)

(25) *Vet. Anal. Vol.* 2. *p.* 669. *seqq.*

(26) " Edidi jam ego vetustissimum Antiphonarium celebris monasterii Benchorensis in Hibernia, seculo Christi *septimo* aut *saltem octavo* exaratum, quod temporibus Caroli magni Dungalus monachus Scotus Ticinum deportavit, et Bobiensi deinde monasterio dono dedit." Muratorii *Opera, Arezzo,* 1771. *tom.* 13. *part.* I. *p.* 240. This Antiphonary may be seen in Muratori's *Anecdota Am-*

brosiana, Tom. IV. Patavii, A. 1713. He thought, that it was about a thousand years old. It may be doubted whether Dungal was, as Muratori says in the above quoted passage, the person that presented it to the monastery of Bobio; for, although he gave many books, among which some antiphonaries, (see below *Not.* 138 to *Chap.* XX.) to that monastery, yet that of Bangor is not specially mentioned in the catalogue of said books; and it is not improbable that it was in the library of Bobio, before Dungal went to Italy in the early part of the ninth century. As St. Columbanus, the founder of said monastery, had been a monk of Bangor, a certain intercourse was kept up between both places. In his preface to it in *Anecdota Ambros.* Muratori makes no mention of Dungal, but strives to make out the age of it from what is said towards the end concerning Cronan, abbot of Bangor, who seems to be spoken of as alive when it was written.

(27) In his *Epistola nuncupatoria* (*Rerum Hibern. Scriptor.*) he treats learnedly of the age of the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, and states that the copy, published by Muratori, was written at a time when Cronan was abbot of Bangor. He then asserts (*p.* 167.) that this Cronan died in 691, although Archdall (at *Bangor*) assigns his death to 721. Thus it appears that said copy belonged to the seventh century. Dr. O'Conor refers to said work, in his Third Letter under the name of Columbanus, (*p.* 58) for what he had said of that *MS.* But in this letter there must be an error of the press; for, instead of A. 640, before which it is here said that it was written, we ought to read, conformably with the *Epistola*, &c. *A.* 691.

(28) *Hymnus S. Patricii magistri Scotorum.* It is the hymn attributed to St. Secundinus, of which more elsewhere.

§. VII. The illustrious Adamnan flourished in the seventh century, and died early in the next. (29) His Life of St. Columba, or Columb-kill, in three books, is most highly esteemed by the best critics, none of whom have called its genuineness into question. It is frequently referred to by our Doctor, as a work of authority. For example, arguing against the rights of the see of Armagh and the mission of St. Patrick, he urges, (30) that Adamnan in his Life

of Columba has not a word about Armagh, its bishop, or primacy. Let me observe incidentally, that this is a ridiculous argument; for surely Adamnan was not writing an ecclesiastical history of Ireland, nor does he speak of any Irish bishop except such as some particular circumstance of the acts of St. Columba had a reference to. We might as well ask the Doctor, why Adamnan has not made mention of the Asiatic missionaries, who, according to him, were the founders of Christianity in this country. In another place, (31) talking of his favourite church of Aghaboe, he tells us that it was noticed by Adamnan in the *sixth* century. The poor Doctor must be always bungling. Adamnan lived not in the sixth, but in the seventh and eighth centuries. Now this same Adamnan makes express mention of St. Patrick in the second preface to his work; "Quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, *sancti Patricii episcopi* discipulus, *Maveteus* (32) nomine, ita de nostro prophetavit patrono," &c. The Doctor knew this well, whereas he quotes (33) four long lines of that same short preface relative to the name *Columba*. Notwithstanding all this he appeals, in the same barefaced manner that, as we have seen, he did to Cummian, also to Adamnan, to prove that St. Patrick was an ideal personage. (34) It was, I dare say, the apprehension of his being obliged to acknowledge that Adamnan has spoken of our Apostle, that induced him to omit, in his paltry review of Irish literature, (35) an account of the writings of Adamnan. And elsewhere (36) he has endeavoured to undermine the genuineness of the three books of Columba's life; 1st, because miracles and visions are recorded in them; and 2d, because the author "never mentions the sentiments of Columba or his Culdees on the points disputed between them and Rome, as Bede does, nor his dying command to his disciples to continue Quartadecimans," As to miracles and visions, it would be useless to attempt a discussion with such

a staunch *philosophe* as Ledwich; but his other argument contains almost as many falshoods as words. Columba never had any dispute with Rome, nor does Bede say any such thing. Columba died in the year 597, the very year, in which the monk Augustin arrived in England from Rome, (37) and consequently several years before the paschal and tonsural disputes began. The monks of Hy were not Culdees. The Irish were never Quartadecimans, as Ledwich might have learned even from Bede, and it is a most impudent assertion to state, that Columba gave any such dying command as this audacious scribbler has invented. On these subjects more in their proper place.

(29) A. D. 704. Usher *p.* 702 and *Ind. Chron.* The 4 Masters (*Tr. Th. p.* 498.) have A. 703; which, considering their mode of reckoning the years, was the same as A. 704.

(30) *p.* 390. (31) *p.* 396.

(32) Usher calls him Moctheus; *Pr. p.* 855. 1047. (33) *p.* 59.

(34) *p.* 368. (35) *Chap.* VII. (36) *p.* 404.

(37) See Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

§. VIII. We find St. Patrick's name in a very ancient little tract concerning the Liturgy, of which Usher writes thus in his above quoted letter to Camden; "Yet have I seen in Sir Robert Cotton's "library an ancient fragment written *before the time* "*of Bede*, wherein St. Patrick is not only menti- "oned, but also made to be as ancient in time as "hitherto we have still believed him to have been. "It was found among Mr. Josseline's papers.—If "you—will be pleased to transcribe that place of it, "where the tradition of the Liturgy from man to "man is described (for there this mention of St. Patrick is to be found)" &c. The Doctor alluding to this fragment says; (38) "A Cotton *MS.* recording "St. Patrick is much boasted of; surely we might "expect to find in Usher's Primordia, published

" twenty-one years after his writing this letter to " Camden, an account of its possessors, its letters, " and language, so as to enable us to form some " judgment of its antiquity; but none of these ap- " pear, if I recollect right, in that work. A Cot- " tonian *MS.* occurs, but *it is not noticed as remark-* " *able for age or contents.*" It is almost impossible to read this man's silly effusions with patience. In direct opposition to what he here says, Usher has given extracts from that fragment, and in the language (Latin) in which it was written, in various parts of his *Primordia*, and quotes it as a *MS.* in the Cotton library, adding that it was written nine hundred years before; that is, early in the eighth century, and calling it an anonymous tract on the Origin of ecclesiastical or liturgical offices. (39) In one of the passages quoted by Usher it is said, that German and Lupus had instructed the blessed Patrick, and placed him as archbishop in Ireland, &c. (40) The *MS.* referred to by Usher may be seen at this day among the Cotton *MSS.* in the British Museum. (41)

(38) *p.* 363.

(39) See *Pr. p.* 343, 840, 916. The whole tract has, as already observed (*Not.* 37. to *Chap.* I.) been published by Spelman *Concil.* &c. *Vol.* 1. *p.* 176, and Wilkins, *Concil. M. B.* &c. *Vol.* 4. *App. p.* 741.

(40) *Beatum Patricium* spiritaliter sacras literas docuerunt atque enutrierunt, et ipsum *episcopum* per eorum prædicationem *(pro eorum prædicatione,* Spelman,*) archiepiscopum* in Scotiis ac Britanniis posuerunt." *Pr. p.* 840.

(41) *Columbanus' third Letter; p.* 54.

§. IX. Next comes Bede, in whose Martyrology, as well as in the Roman, and those of Usuardus, Rabanus, Ado, &c., the festival of St. Patrick in Ireland is marked at the 17th of March. (42) This is acknowledged by the Doctor, (43) who, however, after

having railed most indecently against Calendars and Martyrologies in general, (44) says, without adducing any argument, that it is very doubtful whether Bede wrote a Martyrology or not. This is really carrying too far the system of imposing on his readers; for Bede tells us himself, not by a bare hint, but in express terms, that he had composed such a work. (45) It is true that some additions have been made to it, which have been carefully distinguished by critics from Bede's original text. Not to quote Giorgi and others, let it suffice in this place to refer to the truly excellent and accurate edition of that work given by Smith, (46) in which the words above quoted (47) are set down as those of Bede himself. Here then is a most respectable witness, prior to the ninth century; for Bede died before the middle of the eighth, viz. A. D. 735. Notwithstanding all this, the Dr. is not ashamed to say, (48) that St. Patrick "was not heard of when Bede died in 735." But, it is objected, Bede has not mentioned our saint in his Ecclesiastical history, although he speaks of Palladius. What then? was he bound to do so? What had St. Patrick to do with the ecclesiastical affairs of the Anglo-Saxons, who did not become Christians until much more than a hundred years after his death? As to Bede's having made mention of Palladius, it is plain that he has done so only incidentally in consequence of, while having Prosper's chronicle before him, his entering upon some transactions in Britain during the reign of Theodosius the younger. Meeting on his way the passage relative to Palladius, he introduced it, in Prosper's own words, into his text in an indirect manner, and not as concerning any main object of his narrative. (49) And it is clear that, had he not so met with that passage, most probably he would not have left us a word about Palladius. Bede was in the habit of copying passages verbatim from old writers, *e.g. c.* from Orosius, Eutropius, &c. Nor does he mention in that

work any Irish saints, except such as had been engaged in converting the Anglo-Saxons, or other inhabitants of G. Britain, such as the northern Picts; or those Irishmen, who distinguished themselves on the paschal and tonsural questions. In like manner he has not mentioned several eminent British saints, of whose existence no doubt is entertained, whereas their acts did not come within the sphere of his undertaking; for instance, Kentigern, David, and many others. (50) I wish the Doctor would explain to us, how it has happened that the *Asiatic missioners*, of whom he is so fond, are not to be met with in any of Bede's works. St. Patrick's name is also in the very ancient Martyrology, which existed before the times of Bede, usually called that of St. Jerome.

(42) "In Scotia S. Patricii Confessoris." *In Scotia i. e. Hibernia*; Smith, *ed.* of Bede's *Historic.* &c.

(43) *p.* 366.

(44) Not meaning to follow Ledwich through all his wild and incoherent vagaries, I refer the reader on this subject of Calendars, &c. in general, to Dr. Milner's Tour in Ireland, *Letter* XII. where he will find some just castigatory remarks on our hero's sceptical positions. I shall merely add, that Usher, Camden, Stillingfleet, Cave, &c. did not treat those venerable registers with disrespect. This unlearned impudence was reserved for our times.

(45) In the enumeration of his works given by himself at the end of his History, *L.* 5. *c.* 24. or *Recapitulatio*, he mentions "Martyrologium de natalitiis sanctorum martyrum diebus, in quo omnes, quos invenire potui—diligenter adnotare studui." D'Achery has published *Spicileg. Tom.* 4. a short martyrology in verse, said to have been written by Bede, in which St. Patrick is mentioned at March. It is certainly very ancient; for the last saint mentioned in it is Wilfrid, who died in 732, the year after Bede finished his history. It was written in England, and is particular in marking English saints.

(46) Bede's *Historical works*; Cambridge, 1722.

(47) *Not.* 42. (48) *p.* 375. See also *p.* 368.

(49) Bede's text runs thus; "Anno dominicæ incarnationis

423. Theodosius junior post Honorium—regnum suscipiens viginti et septem annis tenuit, cujus anno imperii octavo Palladius ad Scottos, &c." *L.* 1. *cap.* 13.

(50) Pinkerton, (*Vitæ antiquæ Sanct.* &c.) in a note to the Life of Kentigern, very judiciously observes; "Beda non meminit Kentigerni; sed æque siluit de *Patricio*, Davide, Dubritio, Asapho, et aliis sanctis Brittonum: nam historia ejus solummodo ad Anglos spectat."

§. x. It would be useless to trouble the reader with further testimonies (51) on a matter so clear, and concerning which no doubt has been entertained by any of the numerous critics, who have appeared during the last 200 years, and who have with indefatigable industry examined and collated a multitude of documents, that exist relative to the ecclesiastical history of Europe, and particularly to the lives of Saints. And it would be very extraordinary, that so many Memoirs of St. Patrick should have been written, as there have been ever since the sixth century, if no such person had ever been amongst us. For, whatever may be thought of some of the tracts still extant called his Lives, it is certain that much older documents did once exist. (52) Or how could it have happened, that so many places not only in Ireland, but in Scotland should have been distinguished by his name, and that so many churches or chapels should have been erected under the title of St. Patrick not only in the British Islands, (53) but in other parts of Europe? (54)

(51) See Columbanus' third Letter, *p.* 58. A passage there partly quoted, as from the Metrical Life of Willibrord by Alcuin, is not in that work but in his Miscellaneous poems, and is as follows; "*Patricius*, Cheranus, Scottorum gloria gentis—Atque Columbanus, Congallus, Adamnanus atque—Præclari patres, morum vitæque magistri—Hic pietas precibus horum nos adjuvet omnes." Alcuin's *Works—Poemata. No.* 246. *p.* 1786. *Paris.* 1617. Alcuin died A. D. 804.

(52) Jocelin says, *cap.* 186. that sixty-six tracts or Memoirs (not Lives as some have understood him) had been written concerning the Acts of St. Patrick, the greatest part of which were destroyed during the Danish persecution. Colgan's Tripartite has the same number *L.* 3. *cap.* 99. and gives the names of some of the authors, (*ib.* and *L.* 1. *c.* 69.) for instance Columb-kill, Ultan, Adamnan, Eleran the wise, &c. Columb-kill lived in the sixth century, the three latter in the seventh. The Memoirs of Tirechan, so often quoted by Usher, were probably the same as those here ascribed to Ultan; see *Pr. p.* 818. In the Calendar of Cashel, one of the most respectable monuments of our ecclesiastical history, and written early in the eleventh century, St. Kienan of Damliag (Duleek) is stated to have written a Life of St. Patrick. He died, according to the four Masters, A. D. 488 (489). Archdall has followed them at *Duleek*. Colgan was inclined to assign him to the sixth century (*Tr. Th. p.* 217). One of his arguments is of no weight; viz. that, if he died in that year, he should have written the Life of St. Patrick, while still alive. For, as will appear hereafter, St. Patrick died several years before 489. At any rate, the age, in which Kienan lived, was long prior to the ninth century.

(53) Wherever the Scoto-Irish settled in G. Britain, there were churches erected under the name of St. Patrick; ex. c. in Argyle, &c. Several of the old churches in the Hebrides went under his name. (Martin's *W. Isles, p.* 27. Chalmer's *Caledonia, V.* 1, *p.* 266.) Will it be said, that the inhabitants of those countries and islands adopted from Ireland a saint, who was unknown to their forefathers, and to Columba and the others who had introduced Christianity among them? And this long after the Scots of Ireland and those of Britain ceased to be closely united. There was a St. Patrick's church in the Isle of Man. (Camden, *col.* 1449. Gibson's *ed.*) It is worthy of particular notice, that the old church of Glastonbury in Somersetshire, which existed before the reign of Ina, king of Wessex, and consequently before *A. D.* 689, was called the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of St. Patrick. (*Monast. Anglic. Tom,* 1. *p.* 12.)

(54) See Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 7—315. Until within not many years there was a church under the name of St. Patrick just close to the city of Pavia, erected perhaps not long after the great Co-

lumbanus, whose name is still famous in that part of Italy, was kindly received by the Lombards, of whose kingdom Pavia was the capital.

§. XI. I shall now briefly touch upon some objections brought forward by the Doctor. We have already seen of what little avail is the silence of Platina in this question, and that Adamnan and Bede, far from favouring his system, are unexceptionable witnesses to the contrary. He asks why Cogitosus has not given certain particulars relative to St. Patrick. (55) A strange question as coming from a man, who says, (56) that the work of Cogitosus is suppositious and unworthy of credit. Yet I allow that it is genuine, although not so ancient as some have imagined. But why expect an account of St. Patrick from a writer, whose only object was to give some acts of St. Brigid, and whose tract is not properly a Life of that saint, but a panegyrical discourse concerning her virtues, miracles, &c. ? Cogitosus enters so little into historical facts, that he does not even tell us in what part of Ireland St. Brigid was born, nor mentions the names of any of her contemporaries except those of her father and mother, of bishop Machille, from whom she received the veil, and of Conlaeth bishop of Kildare.

Next he appeals to the disagreement between the Irish clergy and the Roman missionaries, who had been sent to preach to the Anglo-Saxons. How, he argues, (57) could such a disagreement have taken place, if St. Patrick had received his mission from Rome? It will be seen hereafter how it could have occurred, and that it was very natural it should. Meanwhile it will be sufficient to observe, that this argument, admitted in its fullest extent, would prove nothing more than that St. Patrick did not come to Ireland direct from Rome ; but it would not follow that he had never existed, nor that we should go as far as the Doctor's favourite Asia to look for the

apostles of Ireland. In this rambling discussion of his I find some falshoods as usual. He says that the letter of Laurence, bishop of Canterbury, and two other prelates to the Irish Clergy (58) was written about A. D. 604. He could have easily learned from Usher, that said letter was written in the year 609. (59) He tells us, that St. Patrick was then dead but a hundred years. Now, even according to the vulgar opinion, which places the saint's death A. D. 493, he was then dead 116 years. But it will appear in its proper place, that St. Patrick died near thirty years earlier. He adds, that the letter of the clergy of Rome to five Irish bishops, &c. was in the year 630. The same great authority, Usher, might have taught him, that the date of this letter was A. D. 640, or, at the earliest, 639. (60) Then he repeats his nonsense, on which I have remarked already, concerning Columba and his Culdees differing from Rome in doctrine and discipline.

Another mighty objection is deduced (61) from the variety of opinions relative to the place of St. Patrick's birth, whence the Doctor would fain conclude, that he was never born at all. This is really ludicrous. Our hero would do well to let the world know where he was born himself; for many persons of my acquaintance, who have seen his book, are ignorant of the place, that can boast of his origin. But, to be serious, are there not doubts entertained concerning the birth-place of Constantine the great and many other eminent men, whose existence has never been questioned? In arguing against St. Patrick having been born in the country, now called Scotland, he exhibits a monstrous degree of ignorance. I know that our saint was not born in that country, nor in any part of G. Britain, but I should be ashamed to use such an argument as his, the sum of which comes to this: "St. Patrick is said to have been the son of Calpurnius a deacon, whose father was Potitus a priest; *atqui* there could be no priests

in that country at that period, whereas the *southern Scots* did not receive the faith till 412, nor the *northern* until 565 ; *ergo*, &c." In the first place he confounds the Picts with the Scots ; the people converted about A. D. 412 by Ninian were the Southern Picts, whose country lay to the north of the frith of Forth ; (62) those converted about A. D. 565 by Columb-kill were the northern Picts, whose territory was far up in the N. W. of Scotland above Argyle, &c. Secondly the part of G. Britain, in which many have said that St. Patrick was born, viz. about Kirkpatrick, did not belong, in his time, to either the Picts or Scots, but to the Roman province in Britain, which extended as far as the friths ; and there can be no doubt but that Christian families were to be found to its very northermost boundaries.

(55) *p.* 368. (56) *p.* 166. (57) *p.* 368, *seqq.*
(58) *Ap. Bed. L.* 2. *c.* 4. (59) *Pr. Ind. Chron.*
(60) *Ib.* and *Syll. Ep. Hib. p.* 22. (61) *p.* 371.
(62) See above *Not.* 149 to *Chap.* I.

§. XII. The Doctor next rakes out (63) every foolish expression that he could find in some late writers concerning St. Patrick, as if, because those writers had been mistaken in some points, it were to be concluded that there had been no such person. For instance, some one had said, that our saint was for a time a Canon of the church of St. John Lateran at Rome. Oh! exclaims this wonderful critic, there were no Canons there in his time. Well then, granting it, what is the consequence ? Nothing more than that St. Patrick was not a Lateran Canon. But surely it does not follow, that he was an *ideal personage.* Some authors have given him the title of *arch-bishop.* Upon this the Doctor thus animadverts ; " Here *all his biographers, ancient* and modern discover their ignorance of ecclesiastical history." And supposing they do, how can their ignorance affect the

existence of St. Patrick? But the fact is, and it is somewhat remarkable that Probus, and the authors of the second and the other older Lives of our saint published by Colgan, (64) never give him that title, although they speak of him as the Apostle of Ireland and presiding over all the churches of the country. Even Jocelin, who copied much from ancient documents, does not in the course of his book call him *archbishop*, notwithstanding his mentioning the archiepiscopal see of Armagh and its archbishops. (65) I find, indeed, that title applied to St. Patrick in the preface to Colgan's Tripartite and also in Usher's Tripartite, (66) both which works are evidently of a later date than that of Probus, and the second Life, &c. above alluded to. In the hymn attributed to Secundinus St. Patrick is simply called *bishop*. (67) It is odd, however, that the Doctor should object in any manner to the title of *archbishop;* for, immediately after the words above quoted, he adds; "*On the establishment of Christianity*, to preserve to the bishop of the metropolis his rank, the title of *archbishop* was invented." If so, that title was in use a very long time before the age of St. Patrick. And then he tells us that Cyril, bishop of *Jerusalem*, was honoured with it at the Ephesine council, A. D. 431. He ought to have known, that the said Cyril was dead about 45 years before that council was held. But whatever may have been the date of that title, of which this is not the place to treat, (68) it has nothing to do with the question of St. Patrick's existence, although the use or disuse of it may serve as a clue towards discovering the periods, at which some of his biographers lived.

(63) *p.* 372. (64) *Tr. Th.* (65) Jocel. *cap.* 143.

(66) See *Pr. p.* 849.

(67) Audite omnes amantes Deum sancta merita—Viri in Christo beati, Patricii *episcopi*.

(68) See Bingham, *Orig. Eccl. B.* 2. *ch.* 17.

§. XIII. Another equally potent argument is squeezed (69) out of its having been said, that St. Patrick had been decorated by a Pope with the Pall and constituted his legate in Ireland. Now, says the Doctor with an air of triumph, there were no Palls bestowed in Ireland until A. D. 1152; nor was the legatine office known until the year 787. As to the latter point he is grossly mistaken; for we find persons acting with the power of legates in the Pope's name not only in the time of Gregory the great, but as far back as the days of Pope Leo in the middle of the fifth century. I do not, however, mean to uphold the story of the legateship of St. Patrick. His jurisdiction and powers, relative to his mission, were as extensive as could be required, without his having received such a special appointment. With regard to the Palls, the Doctor happens for once to be right. But why talk of these things, which were never spoken of until Jocelin, alluding to the customs of his own times, interlarded his account of St. Patrick with them? Usher rejected these stories, (70) but he had too much sense to imagine, that by so doing he weakened the true history of the saint; our Doctor has a mode of arguing different from that of Usher and of the generality of mankind.

(69) *p.* 372. (70) *Pr. p.* 870.

§. XIV. At length we are come to the winding up of his system. To show how St. Patrick was set up as the patron saint of Ireland in the ninth century, he tells us (71) that in said century Pagan practices were introduced, and that, as Rome had her Mars, Athens her Minerva, &c. so it was thought convenient to invest saints with the patronage of Christian nations. This may serve as a sample of the profaneness, with which this audacious scribbler is wont to treat of ecclesiastical subjects. He then talks of illiteracy, superstition, and clerical imposition. Led-

wich to charge others with illiteracy! As to superstition, could he have adduced any positive proofs of its prevalence among the Irish of that period? And as to clerical imposition, he should have looked to himself, before he touched upon such a delicate point. Next he brings on the stage Dyonisius the Areopagite, St. James, &c. Pray, what has all this to do with the simple question of fact, *viz.* whether there was such a person as St. Patrick, who is said to have preached the Christian faith in Ireland? Those random declamations against fables and mistakes are of no weight in such an inquiry as this. The point is to show, how and by whom St. Patrick was actually forced upon the people of this country and of all Europe in the ninth century, without having been ever heard of before. The Doctor indeed makes an attempt at such an explanation, and it is curious to see what sort of a one it is. The Danes or Ostmen were the authors of this fabrication! "At this very "time, (the 9th century) the name of St. Patrick "first appeared, and at this time the Ostmen were in "possession of Ireland and of Armagh in particular, "and now his reliques were placed there. These "facts and dates most exactly agree, and therefore "I conjecture, and I think on good grounds, that "the Christian Ostmen, who seized the old Culdean "abbey at Armagh, in imitation of others of that "age, procured reliques and fixed on St. Patrick as "their owner, then had a flaming legend composed, "setting forth the wonderful life, actions, and mira-"cles of the new saint." (72) This is the wonderful discovery, the *ipse dixit* of our great antiquary. And how well arranged! "The name of St. Patrick *first appeared at that time;*" a false assertion, and of which he could not give any proof. "At the same time the Ostmen were in possession of Ireland and of Armagh." Of all Ireland they were not either then or at any time; nor did they ever, in their most prosperous days, *possess* as much as one half of

Ireland, although they ravaged the greatest part of it. It is true, that several times in that century they got possession of Armagh. It was, for the first time, taken by them and plundered A. D. 830. (73) It was, together with its churches, burned by them in the year 839. (74) Faranan the primate and all the religious and students were expelled from Armagh by Turgesius, prince of those Ostmen or Danes, in 848. (75) The city was again laid waste by them A. D. 852. (76) Amlave one of their chiefs, besides killing a great number of the inhabitants, plundered and burned it in 867. (77) Maelcob, the bishop of Armagh, was made prisoner by those *pagans* A. D. 879. (78) The Danes of Dublin plundered Armagh, and committed great havoc there in the year 895. (79) During this whole period, which brings us to the end of the ninth century, the Danes, or, as the Dr. calls them, the Ostmen were pagans, and continued so for several years after. Where then are we to look for the *Christian Ostmen, who seized the old Culdean abbey at Armagh* in the 9th century? The Doctor refers us to Archdall's *Monasticon Hib.* as his authority. Let us then hear Archdall; "A. D. 919. Godfred Hua Himhair (son of Ivar) king of the Danes in Dublin, plundered the town (Armagh) sparing only the churches, the Colidei, and the sick; but the annals of Innisfallen place this event in the year 921." (80) The poor Doctor placed that year in the 9th century, in the same manner as, I suppose, he would call the century, in which we now live, the eighteenth; so little does he know even of the manner of reckoning time. Was it from Archdall he learned, that the Ostmen seized the *old Culdean abbey at Armagh*, or that there was such an abbey there at all? Let him then learn at last, that those Colidei of Armagh were, as will be seen hereafter, the officiating clergy of the cathedral. And who told him, that the Ostmen of that day were Christians? Although pagans, they

might have spared churches, &c. Ware states (81) that the Danes of Ireland were converted to Christianity about the year 948, and that the first of them recorded as Christians were in the time of Godfrid, son of Sitricus, who succeeded Blacar as king of Dublin in that year. I am inclined to think, that the Sitricus here mentioned was the same as Sitricus, king of Northumberland, to whom king Athelstan gave his sister Editha in marriage, on condition of his becoming a Christian. Sitricus had three sons, Reginald, Anlaf, and Godfrid. The two latter are generally supposed to have been born of a former marriage. But it is very probable, that Godfrid, following the example of his father, became a Christian. (82)

To return to the Doctor, what shall we now say of his ninth century, Christian Ostmen, &c.? According to himself, (83) St. Patrick was spoken of in the year 858. But the Ostmen, who procured reliques, &c. for him, were not Christians until about 100 years later. Or is there any one so stupid as to imagine, that the whole Irish nation would have adopted a saint first introduced by their bitterest enemies, and that Armagh, a town so often plundered and burned by them, should be foremost in paying them that compliment? The Doctor ought to know, and so he did when it suited his views, (84) that a very great antipathy existed between the two nations, even after the conversion of the Danes, and that the Danish clergy of Dublin and the Irish clergy of Armagh were constantly at variance. What then could have bewitched him to advance such a monstrous paradox as that, which has been now exploded? I know not how to explain it, except by asking another question, viz. What will not an adventurous charlatan in history and theology dare to announce, in order to forward some paltry purposes?

(71) *p.* 373. (72) *p.* 391.

(73) 4 Masters and *Tr. Th. p.* 295. Their *A.* 830 was the same as 831.

(74) *Ib.* 839, *i. e.* 840. (75) Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(76) Usher, *ib.*

(77) *Tr. Th. p.* 295, as corrected by O'Flaherty, *MS note.* Ware has A. 869. *Antiq. cap.* 24. Archdall misquoted Colgan in placing that event A. D. 873. *Mon. Hib.* at *Armagh.*

(78) Annals of Ulster, and Usher *p.* 860, and *Ind. Chron.*

(79) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24.

(80) *Mon. Hib.* at *Armagh.* Archdall has merely followed Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 296, except as to the year of the annals of Innisfallen, with which Ware agrees.

(81) *Antiq. cap.* 24 *ad A. D.* 948.

(82) See J. P. Murray, *De coloniis Scandicis in insulis Britannicis et maxime Hibernia; §.* 14. 15. *Nov. Comment. Soc. R. Goetting. vol.* 3.

(83) *p.* 375. (84) See *p.* 392.

§. xv. The Doctor endeavours to impose upon his readers by insinuating, (85) that our St. Patrick might have been the same as a Patrick of Auvergne, whose name occurs in the Roman martyrology at the 16th of March, or a Patrick of Nola, whose memory is celebrated there on the 17th of the same month. What he has on this subject he has taken from Usher, whose meaning, however, he misrepresents in a point of some consequence. Usher, having observed (86) that Patrick of Auvergne is placed at March 16 in Usuard's and the Roman martyrology, adds, that a Patrick is commemorated at Nola on the 17th, for which he quotes no martyrology, nor indeed could he, but a Calendar of Nola referred to by Philip Ferrarius. The Doctor very cunningly, after heading his paragraph with the authority of the two martyrologies, and having mentioned Patrick of Auvergne, subjoins; "the 17th of March is dedicated "to Patrick, bishop of Nola;" thus wishing to make the reader believe, that the name of Patrick of Nola is given at that day in the martyrologies; while the

fact is, that St. Patrick of Ireland is in them without any mention of Nola. And, let us observe the Doctor's tergiversation with regard to martyrologies. He had abused them all (87) and endeavoured to decry their authority, because all of them have our Apostle in the plainest terms at March 17; but now he has such a respect for them, that he would fain foist into them a person, whom they have not. Supposing even that a St. Patrick of Nola was mentioned at that day in the martyrologies, would it follow that our St. Patrick never existed? Might not there have been two or more saints of the same name affixed to one day? Or, if any confusion had occurred in those names, would it not be more natural to suppose, that Patrick of Nola was never bishop of that see but in reality the same as our St. Patrick, whose memory, it is well known, was and is still highly revered in many parts of the continent?(88) Such a mistake could easily originate in our St. Patrick's festival being kept at Nola on the usual day. The learned and laborious Ughelli, who was certainly more partial to Italy than to Ireland, not finding any thing authentic concerning a bishop of Nola of that name proposed this conjecture, (89) which is also approved of by the Bollandists. (90) As to Patrick of Auvergne, or any other Patrick that may occur in the calendars, why conclude from the mere identity of name, that there was no such person as our St. Patrick? But of those Patricks more in the proper place. What would the Doctor think, were any one to undertake to prove that there had been no such saint as Peter of Alexandria distinct from Peter the apostle, or that John Chrysostom was no other than St. John the evangelist?

(85) *p.* 375. (86) *Pr. p.* 897. (87) *p.* 365. *seqq.*
(88) See *Tr. Th. p.* 315.
(89) *Italia Sacra*; Tom. 6. at *Nolani episcopi. p.* 250. *ed. A.*

1720. Ferrarius says there are no acts extant of such a bishop of Nola. *Catal. Sanct.* &c. 17 *Mart.*

(90) *Ad* 17 *Mart. p.* 506.

§. XVI. He now enters into polemics, (91) in which I will not follow him. I shall only observe that, however he may falsify the transactions of former days, he ought not to corrupt the text of such prayers as are used at present by his neighbours. He quotes two prayers, as if from the Catholic breviary, without giving the Latin text. The former he adduces as recited on St. Patrick's day, and makes the Catholics address God in it, as if they prayed to be able *through St. Patrick* to fulfil what he commandeth. Now I maintain, that there is no such prayer used in any part of the Catholic church, nor any prayer of similar import to be found on any saint's festival. The prayer on St. Patrick's day is this; *Deus, qui ad prædicandum Gentibus gloriam tuam beatum Patricium confessorem atque pontificem mittere dignatus es; ejus meritis et intercessione concede, ut, quæ nobis agenda præcipis, te miserante adimplere possimus. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum,* &c. "O God, who hast vouchsafed to send the "blessed Patrick, a confessor and bishop, to preach "thy glory to Gentiles, by his merits and intercession grant that by thy mercy we may be able to "fulfil those things, which thou commandest us to "do. Through Jesus Christ our Lord, &c." Our honest Doctor left out *through Jesus Christ,* and, instead of these words, inserted *through him* (St. Patrick). He refers us to the book of the peculiar offices of Irish saints printed A. D. 1769. I have three copies of those offices, the first of the year 1751, the second of 1767, and the third of 1792. In none of them is there either a prayer or lessons for St. Patrick's day; whereas the whole office of St. Patrick is contained in the Roman breviary. And whatever his edition of 1769 may contain, I

assert that it has not such a prayer as that produced by him, and defy him to publish the original Latin. In some breviaries used on the Continent we find (92) forms of prayers for St. Patrick's day somewhat different from that now given, in none of which, however, is to be met with any thing like what he has obtruded on the public. The Dr. gives another prayer, as if from the anniversary of the finding of the reliques of St. Patrick, &c. For this also he refers to his book of the year 1769. Whether that prayer be genuine or not, it contains nothing reprehensible, except that the word, *adore*, has been substituted by him for *revere*. It is a shame to have recourse to such artifices. But the Doctor was well accustomed to them ; witness his abominable perversion (93) of the meaning of a passage of St. Irenæus, quoted by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical history, and in which the saint complains of certain innovators, chiefly Asiatics, who happened to be at Rome. The Doctor, with his usual candor, applies the passage to the church of Rome itself. As my object is not controversy, I refer the reader, for a fuller exposure of this base proceeding, to Dr. Milner's *Tour in Ireland* ; *Letter* XVI.

I have now done with the question of the existence of St. Patrick. For as to some minor exceptions thrown out here and there, such as those relative to the Paschal controversy, the monastic rule of St. Patrick, &c. it will appear in the course of this history, that they are of no weight whatsoever. To enter into these discussions at present would be an anticipating of what will be found hereafter treated of at large. Nor will it be expected, that I should tire the public or myself with animadverting on some insignificant writers, who, being totally ignorant of the subject, or wilfully blind, have followed in the same track. We shall, however, meet with the Doctor often again, and he must be dealt with according to his merits.

(91) *P.* 377. (92) See *Tr. Th. p.* 189. *seqq.*
(93) *P.* 360.

CHAPTER III.

Of the principal ancient documents relative to the history of St. Patrick—The place of his birth, in all appearance, Bononia now Boulogne sur mer in Picardy—Observations on the Aremoric tracts, and on the ancient continental Britain—The saint's family connexions—No relatives of his in Ireland.

SECT. I.

THE variety of opinions, and the many questions which have been agitated, concerning the country and time of St. Patrick's birth, his relatives, education, travels, ordination, &c. &c. render a previous discussion on these and other matters connected with them necessary; as otherwise the thread of this history should be constantly and unavoidably interrupted. I shall therefore endeavour to clear up the disputed points, and to lead the reader through this labyrinth, from which when once extricated we may be able to continue our course in a more steady and regular manner.

In these inquiries my principal guides shall be, next after St. Patrick's Confession and his Letter against Coroticus, Fiech's hymn or metrical sketch of the life of our saint, and the Life by Probus. In the former, which, as already observed, has a claim to very high antiquity, the narrative runs smooth and regular; nor do we find in it any of those ridiculous miracles, that disgrace some of the later Lives. There are extant some Scholia or notes on that hymn, which are usually quoted under the

title of Fiech's Scholiast. They were written partly in Irish and partly in Latin, and have been published by Colgan, (1) who pretends that they are prior to the end of the sixth century. It must be allowed, that some of those notes bear marks of very high antiquity, while in others it is easy to perceive traces of a later date, and of a period at which the accounts of St. Patrick were already disfigured by fables and contradictory anecdotes. On collating them it appears, that they were not the composition of one person. For instance in Scholion 5. the Letha mentioned in the Hymn (2) is properly explained by Armorica or the maritime tract of the N. W. of Gaul, while in Scholion 11. it is interpreted "Latium, (3) *i. e.* Italy." In Scholion 9. we read, that on a certain occasion St. Patrick said; *Dar mo dhe broth*, which is explained, *God is able to do this if he choose*; and yet immediately after, as if to correct the author of that explanation, it is added that *Dar mo dhe broth* was a sort of asseveration familiar to St. Patrick, signifying; *by my God judge or of judgment.* On the whole it is evident that the Scholia, as we have them at present, are a compilation of observations, some more some less ancient, extracted from various writers.

(1) *Tr. Th. p.* 4. Usher now and then refers to them. See *Pr. p.* 827—831.

(2) *Strophe* 5.

(3) Colgan also made the same mistake in translating Letha *Latium.* This is not his only mistranslation of passages of the Hymn. The translation in the Appendix to the *Life of St. Patrick* by my late friend Mr. Patrick Lynch, *Dublin*, 1810, differs in some points from that of Colgan.

§. II. The Life of St. Patrick by Probus in two books (4) is a very valuable work. Colgan indeed was not friendly to it, because, he says, it does not agree, especially in the first book, with some of the

other Lives. This is the very reason, why it is far preferable to them. It has nothing about Colgan's favourite visionary town Nemphthor in North Britain, but quite the reverse; nor any of the foolish miracles attributed to St. Patrick, when a child, in the tracts, to which Colgan was most uncritically partial. The author sticks very closely to the Confession and the Letter against Coroticus. The Bollandists, otherwise sharp enough with regard to the Lives of St. Patrick, yet looked upon this by Probus as very useful, particularly towards a regular arrangement of the Acts of our saint. (5) There have been some questions concerning the author's country, and the time in which he lived. (6) As to his country, it is evident from himself that he was an Irishman. Speaking of St. Patrick's having passed through Great Britain, and thence embarking for Ireland he says, that he entered upon *our* sea. (7) He represents the harbour, at which St. Patrick arrived, as a very famous one *with us*. (8) He calls St. Patrick *our* most holy father. (9) Some writers have imagined, that he lived in the seventh century; but from his making mention of Normandy (10) it is evident that he must be placed as low as the tenth. Dr. Milner, conceiving that he belonged to the seventh, endeavours to prove it by stating, (11) that "he is named among the respectable authors, whose works were in the library of York cathedral in the eighth century, by the celebrated Alcuin." (*De Pont. et SS. Eccl. Ebor. ap.* Gale XV. *Scriptores.*) This is a strange mistake, nothing being more clear than that the Probus, mentioned in that poem published by Gale, was the same as the celebrated grammarian of that name spoken of by Suetonius (*De ill. Grammat.* 24) and who in the poem quoted is classed with other grammarians. (12) Ware assigns our Probus to some time after the beginning of the tenth century; (13) and Colgan, who is followed by Nicholson, (14) was inclined to that opinion. (15)

I think there can be no doubt but that he was the same as Coeneachair (in Latin, *Probus*) who was chief lecturer of the school of Slane, and was burned to death in the tower of that place by the Danes, A. D. 950. (16) The Paulinus, whom he addresses, and at whose request (17) he wrote his work, was, I dare say, no other than Mal-Paulinus (for, as Colgan observes, the names, according to the Irish idiom, were the same) bishop and abbot of Indenen, a place not far from Slane, (18) who died *A. D.* 921. (19) In this supposition it will follow that Probus must have written either before, or, at the latest, in the year now mentioned.

(4) It was first published among Bede's works *Tom.* 3. of the edition of Basil, *A.* 1563. Colgan republished it in the *Tr. Th.* with the author's name prefixed, and under the title of fifth Life.

(5) *Comment. Prævi. ad V. S. P.* 17 *Mart. §.* 4.

(6) See Usher, *Pr. p.* 817. and Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 61.

(7) " *Mare nostrum—adiit.*" *L.* 1. *c.* 25.

(8) " *Utique apud nos clarissimum.*" *L.* 1. *c.* 27.

(9) *L.* 2. *c.* 41. (10) *L.* 1. *c.* 10.

(11) *Additional note* to *p.* 94. *Tour in Ireland.*

(12) " Quid Probus atque Focas, Donatus, Priscianusve," &c. *v.* 1556. Let me here be allowed to observe, that Gale was mistaken in attributing that poem to Alcuin, as it is plain that it was written after his time. Not to adduce other proofs, it will suffice to remark, that Alcuin's own works are spoken of in it as being in the library; *v.* 1552. Casimir Oudin thought it probable, that the author was Fridegod, a monk, who lived early in the 10th century; *Comment. de Script. Eccl. Tom* 2. *col.* 467, 468.

(13) *Irish Writers.* (14) *Irish Historical library.*

(15) *Tr. Th. p.* 61.

(16) See below *Not.* 140 to *Chap.* XXII.

(17) See *L.* 2. *c.* 41.

(18) *Tr. Th. p.* 219 and Archdall at *Indenen.*

(19) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 64. at *A.* 920 (921.)

§. III. Of the other Lives, published by Colgan, those, which he calls the second, third, and fourth, are full of fables, and seem to have been copied either from each other, or from some common repository, in which those stories had been collected. It is true that now and then we meet with some genuine remains of the true history of St. Patrick, particularly in the quotations from the Confession. It would be idle to adduce the many proofs, which they constantly exhibit of their having been patched up at a late period. Yet, strange to say, Colgan would have us believe, (20) that the second Life was written by a Patrick called *junior* or some other disciple of St. Patrick; the third by Benignus, likewise a disciple of his, who died A. D. 468; (21) and the fourth by Eleran the wise, whose death is assigned in our Annals to the year 664, *i. e.* 665. (22) As to the second and third Lives, Colgan's general argument is, that Jocelin names, (23) as the authors of four tracts concerning St. Patrick that existed in his time, Benignus, Mel, Luman, and a disciple called Patrick. Now he argues from certain data of his own, that neither Mel nor Luman could be the authors of either of those two Lives; therefore it remains, that they were written by Benignus and Patrick junior; and then from some other conjectures he assigns the second Life to this Patrick, and the third to Benignus. But supposing even, what Colgan had no means of proving, that Jocelin alluded to those said Lives, surely it is ridiculous to allege the authority of such a credulous and fabulous writer in an inquiry of this sort, and in direct opposition to the internal evidence, which the tracts themselves abundantly furnish. He adduces indeed a passage of the second Life (*cap.* 31.) in which, on mention being made of a bishop Loarn, a contemporary of St. Patrick, it is said that he *is* in Inreathan (a place near Downpatrick). Honest Colgan did not reflect, that this was a manner of speaking, which frequently

occurs in the old tracts of our ecclesiastical history, and which means nothing more than that the remains of a person were in the place where he is said to be. Thus in that same second Life (*cap.* 24.) Sylvester and Solonius, two of Palladius' companions, are said to be in Domnach-ardec, that is, as appears from the sequel, their mortal remains. In consequence of not having made this observation Colgan has brought himself into innumerable difficulties and anachronisms, and committed heaps of blunders. He has adduced a similar argument in favour of Benignus being the author of the third Life; but, unfortunately for his hypothesis, the author, whoever he were, plainly indicates that he lived long after Benignus For he mentions (*cap.* 38) Erc, son of Dego, whose memory, he says, is revered in the town of Slane. Now Erc, according to the 4 Masters and Colgan himself, (24) died A. D. 512. As to his attributing the fourth Life to Eleran, his argument is really curious. Having found that among many others, who lived at various periods, Eleran was named as an author of Memoirs of St. Patrick, and being forced to acknowledge that said Life could not have been written before the seventh century, he looked out for one of the oldest of those authors, and thus fathered that production on Eleran, who, by the bye, would never have merited the epithet, *wise*, had he been the compiler of the many fooleries, which it contains.

(20) *General Preface* to *Tr. Th.* and *Notes* here and there to those Lives.

(21) *Annals of Ulster*, and Usher *Ind. Chron.* (22) *Ib.*

(23) *Cap.* 186. (24) *Tr. Th. p.* 31.

§. IV. Colgan's want of critical acumen is still more apparent in his maintaining, that the Life, which he has called Tripartite (because it is divided into three books or parts) and published under the name of the

seventh Life, was written by St. Evin, who flourished about the latter end of the sixth century. And why? Because Jocelin says, (25) that Evin also had compiled the Acts of St. Patrick in a work written partly in Latin, partly in Irish. Now this description corresponds to the Tripartite. It appears, however, that it might be properly called an Irish work, as the proportion of Latin was very small compared with the Irish, until the whole was put into Latin by Colgan and his assistants. Usher, who had seen it in its original state, although he refers to it but seldom, calls it an Irish work written in the *old* Irish language. (26) Colgan tells us, (27) that the Irish text is, on account of its great antiquity, exceedingly difficult to understand, and that it used formerly to be read and explained in the schools, as a class book for the instruction of students, who applied themselves to learning the ancient pure Irish dialect. Such parts of it as were originally in Latin are chiefly quotations from the Scriptures, St. Jerome, and St. Patrick's Confession, with some odd scraps here and there extracted from ancient Latin documents concerning our saint. It is, in very great part, evidently derived from much older Memoirs, and often with such a scrupulous fidelity, that, instead of giving the substance of them, the very words are retained; and consequently we sometimes find passages, in which the present tense occurs where the past might have been used, and collateral allusions, that have no necessary connexion with the remainder of the text. Jocelin seems to have had this work before him, or some other very like it; for his text in very many places agrees with it word for word. Yet in his arrangement of facts he frequently differs from it, and usually on the wrong side. Whether this was the work he alluded to as written by St. Evin, (28) or at what time the Evin he meant might have lived, is of no consequence, whereas from innumerable passages it appears, that it was compiled long after the sixth

century. Colgan admits the force of said passages, but pretends that they are interpolations foisted into the text of St. Evin. This evasion will not do; for the compiler or compilers of this work give us the names of the writers, whom they followed, and that twice. (29) They are Columb-kill, Ultan, Adamnan, Eleran the wise, Kieran of Belachduin, Hermedus or Ieremias bishop of Clogher, Colman Husmacensis, and Collatus a priest of Druim-relgeach (in Meath). No mention of St. Evin, an omission quite inexplicable in case he had been considered as the original author of the work, however afterwards interpolated and enlarged. I have touched already on the age of some of those writers; (30) the others lived at a later period, for instance, Kieran who died A. D. 770; (31) and Colgan himself thinks it not improbable, that Collatus was the same as Conlata, whose death is assigned to the year 868. (32) The work, as it exists at present, was put together at a time, when the Irish church had acquired no small degree of splendour; for we read of the bishop's Vicar general, Suffragan, Archpriest, Chancellor, Judge in spiritual matters, Chaplain, Almoners, &c. &c. (33) It appears to belong to some part of the tenth century; as certain persons are named, who lived about that period. Kinaetus, son of Fergal, prince of Meath, is spoken of in an historical manner, (34) as if not living when the work was composed. He died A. D. 868. (35) Kinngegan, king of Cashel, is also mentioned, (36) who was killed in the year 897. (37) No traces occur to show, that the author or authors lived as late as the eleventh century. With the exception of the usual fables relative to St. Patrick's younger days, it is a very useful work, and contains a much greater variety of details concerning his proceedings during his mission in Ireland than any other of his Lives, and far more accurate than those given by Jocelin. It is not to be confounded with a Latin work, which is often quoted by Usher under the same

title of *Tripartite*, (38) and which must be assigned to a later period. (39) In case of my referring to the latter, I call it *Usher's Tripartite*. Of all the Lives of our saint Jocelin's is the worst, although it has been published (40) oftener than the others. Besides raking together all the fables he could collect he has added a number of stories, no where else to be found. So wretched a composition is scarcely worth attending to.

(25) *Cap.* 186. (26) *Pr. p.* 812, 818.

(27) *Tr. Th. p.* 169.

(28) Ware *(Irish Writers)* has Evin at the 7th century on the mere authority of Jocelin; but he says nothing about the Tripartite.

(29) *Tripart. L.* 1. *c.* 70. *L.* 3. *c.* 99.

(30) See above *Chap.* II. *not.* 52.

(31) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 172. (32) Colgan *ib. p.* 173.

(33) *Tripart. L.* 3. *c.* 98. (34) *Ib. L.* 2. *c.* 5.

(35) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 173. (36) *Tripart. L.* 3. *c.* 30.

(37) *Tr. Th. p.* 186, and O'Flaherty's *MS. note ib.*

(38) Harris seemed to think, that they were one and the same work. Alluding to a passage quoted by Usher from the Tripartite *(i. e.* his own Tripartite) he observes that it is not to be found in the printed Tripartite, meaning to say that the *printed* edition differed, with regard to said passages, from Usher's *MS.* copy.

(39) Usher's Tripartite was written at a time, when the name *Scotia* was used for that part of Britain now called Scotland. In it we read, that Palladius "in provincia Pictorum, *quæ modo est Scotia in Britannia*, vitam finivit suam." Consequently the author did not live before the eleventh century. See *Pr. p.* 813, and compare with *p.* 734.

(40) In Colgan's collection it is placed at No. 6.

§. v Having premised thus much concerning the principal documents, from which the history of St. Patrick can be drawn up, let us first inquire what was the land of his birth. It would be a waste of time to examine all the various opinions, that have

been started on this subject, such as his having been born in Cornwall, in Pembrokeshire in Wales, or, what was the strangest of all, in Ireland itself. Whoever wishes to see more about these speculations may consult Usher (41) and Harris. (42) The prevalent opinion since Usher's time, and since Colgan, who was led astray by him, published the Trias Thaumaturga, has been that he was born at Kilpatrick in N. Britain not far from Dunbritton or Dunbarton. Usher knew that, besides his own and the opinions, which he has rejected, there was another, but did not like to mention it, although he must have met with it in his acquaintances O'Sullivan and Dempster, whom he has so often attacked. The former says that St. Patrick was born in Aremoric Gaul. (43) Dempster tells us that the Aremoric Gauls claim him as their countryman. (44) He might have found this opinion mentioned also by David Rothe. (45) Usher's partiality for G. Britain would not allow him to discuss this point, which had he done it is very probable, that, considering his singular penetration, he would have agreed with O'Sullivan, particularly as he had read with care St. Patrick's Confession, which Colgan had not. And it will appear, that O'Sullivan, although charged by Harris with a gross error for what he had said, was substantially right.

(41) *Pr. p.* 819. *seqq.*

(42) Ware's *Bishops*, Harris' edition at *Armagh p.* 5.

(43) *Patriciana Decas ; p.* 4.

(44) " Galli Aremorici civem suum faciunt." *Appar. ad Hist. Scot. p.* 520.

(45) " Quamquam non desint, qui eum in Britannia Armorica genitum dicant." *Hibernia Res. p.* 199.

§. VI. It is curious to observe, on what slight grounds the opinion, to which Usher's great reputation has given so great a degree of plausibility, is founded. Fiech, he says, (46) states as certain, that

St. Patrick was born in Nemthur. But his Scholiast mentions, that Nemthur was a town in N. Britain, viz. Alcluit. This is now called Dunbritton. Usher, however, follows Jocelin, who distinguishes Nemthur, or, as he calls it, Empthor from Dunbritton. As to what Fiech says, it is certainly correct, although, as will be seen lower down, *Nemthur* is not the true spelling of the word. But why depend on the authority of such a hodge podge collection of contradictory notes as those Scholia exhibit? The fact is, that the author of that interpretation of *Nemthur*, not understanding the meaning of the word, and having read or heard, that St. Patrick was born in Britain, looked out for some part of Great Britain, where he might place Nemthur, not reflecting that there was another Britain distinct from the great one. His fixing upon Alcluit was very probably owing to there having been a church there or in the neighbourhood bearing the name of St. Patrick, whence he supposed that Alcluit might have been the place of his birth. Or it might have easily happened, that the name, *Kilpatrick*, gave rise to a vulgar opinion among the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, that the reason of its being so called was the saint's having been born there. Add to this the following strange fable concerning the origin of St. Patrick's well in the church of Kilpatrick. When an infant he was brought to a priest to be baptized. There being no water convenient, the priest made with the child's hand the sign of the cross upon the ground. Forthwith sprang up a fountain, with the water of which he first washed his own eyes, and obtained the blessing of sight, having been hitherto blind. After this he baptized the infant from the same fountain. Around this miraculous fountain or well the church was erected. (47) Then we have a rock in the Clyde, which is still called St. Patrick's stone. (48) On such mighty grounds was made up the story of Nemthor being the same as Alcluit, and the *et caeteras*.

Usher, who saw into the weakness of such arguments, passed over the question very slightly; but Colgan, whose method was to heap together authorities, whether good or bad, labours hard (49) to show, that Nemthur was the same as Alcluit or near it. But very properly he objects to himself; where do we find a town called Nemthor? Usher, who had a great knowledge of British history, overlooked such a question, well knowing that no town of that name could be found in any part of G. Britain. There is no Nemthor to be met with in Nennius' list of British towns, which Usher himself had illustrated, (50) or in any of the old Itineraries, (51) or in Ricardus Corenensis, (52) or in Camden, (53) Horsley, (54) &c. Colgan endeavours to extricate himself by saying, that *Nem-thor* or *Nemh-thur* signifies a heavenly tower (55) and that, as Alcluit or Dunbritton was a fort on a high rock over the Clyde, it might have been honoured with that name. But he ought to have shown from some sort of authority, that it was actually so called; and next, that it could with propriety be denominated *heavenly* or *holy*. (56) The good man was, however, soon compelled to descend from his heavenly tower; for Kilpatrick, the well, and the church over the well, all of which are in the low ground, fell in his way; and then he quotes on from Jocelin, &c. as if it were demonstrated, that Nemthor was the same place as Kilpatrick. This sort of reasoning is too pitiful to produce any effect; and I will now proceed to inquire into the claim of the Armoricans to the honour of our Apostle's birth.

(46) *Pr. p.* 819.

(47) 4th Life, *cap.* 3. *Tripart. L.* 1. *c.* 4. &c. Jocelin has the same fable, (*cap.* 2.) but with this difference, that he makes the infant be baptized, before the fountain was miraculously produced.

(48) *Statist. Survey of Scotland, Vol.* 5. at *Old Kilpatrick*, and Garnett's *Tour, Vol.* 1. *p.* 6. They tell us also of a tombstone in

the church-yard, on which is the figure of a man said to be St. Patrick.

(49) *Tr. Th. p.* 221. *seqq.* (50) *Pr. p.* 59. *seqq.*

(51) Ex. c. that which goes under the name of Antoninus. Nor is it in Ptolemy, or in the *Britanniæ Chorographia* of the Anonymus Ravennas.

(52) *De Situ Britanniæ.* (53) *Britannia.*

(54) *Britannia Romana.*

(55) The 4th Life, *cap.* 1. and *Tripart. L.* 1. *c.* 1. have the same interpretation of *Nemthur.* Lynch in his *Life of St. Patrick* explains it by *Holy Tours, i. e.* the city of Tours in France, and thence concludes that our saint was a native of that city. This hypothesis is much nearer the truth than Colgan's, but cannot be reconciled with the unquestionable fact, that St. Patrick's family lived very near the sea, nor with some other important circumstances, of which lower down.

(56) The meaning of *Nehm* is relative not to height, but to sanctity.

§. VII. Colgan acknowledges, (57) that there is an ancient tradition among the inhabitants of Armoric Britain, that St. Patrick was born in their country, and that some Irishmen were of that opinion. He quotes some passages from Probus and others, whence they argued in proof of their position, but omits, through want of attention to that most valuable document, the following passage of St. Patrick's Confession. "My father was Calpornius a deacon, son of Potitus a priest, of the town Bonavem Taberniæ. He had near the town a small villa *Enon*, where I became a captive." (58) Here we have neither a town Nemthor, nor Alcluit. Nor willl any British antiquary be able to find out a place in Great Britain, to which the names *Bonavem Taberniae* can be applied. Usher, although he had quoted these words (59) has not attempted to give any explanation of them, or to reconcile them with *Nemthur.* The word *Taberniæ* has puzzled not only Colgan, but some of the authors of the Lives,

which he chose to follow; for, while they left out *Bonavem* as not agreeing with *Nemthur*, they retained *Tabernicæ*, or, as they were pleased to write it, *Taburniæ*, which they endeavoured to account for by making it a district, that got its name from having been the site of a Roman winter camp, in which there were tents or tabernacles. (60) Colgan, who swallowed all this stuff, quotes Jocelin as his authority for Taburnia being situated near the Clyde at the south bank. (61) Great authority indeed! It is, however odd, that such a place should be unnoticed by all those, who have undertaken to elucidate the ancient topography of Great Britain. (62) The places of Roman camps in that country were usually designated by the adjunct *castra* whence *chester* or *cester*, in which the names of so many cities and towns in England terminate.

Bonavem or Bonaven (63) Tabernicæ was in Aremoric Gaul, being the same town as *Boulogne sur mer* in Picardy. That town was well known to the Romans under the name of Gessoriacum; but about the reign of Constantine the great the Celtic name *Bonaven* or *Bonaun*, alias *Bonon*, which was latinized into *Bononia*, became more general. (64) According to Bullet, who informs us that *Am*, *Aven*, *On*, signify a river in the Celtic language, (65) the town was so called from its being at the mouth of a river; *Bon* mouth, *on* or *aven* river. (66) Baxter also observes, that Bononia is no other than *Bonavon* or *Bon-aun*; (67) for *aven*, *avem*, *avon*, *aun*, are pronounced in the same manner. The addition of *Tabernicæ* marks its having been in the district of Tarvanna or Tarvenna, alias Tarabanna, a celebrated city not far from Boulogne, the ruins of which still remain under the modern name of Terouanne. The name of the city was extended to a considerable district around it, thence called *pagus Tarbannensis*, or *Tarvanensis regio*. Gregory of Tours calls the inhabitants *Tarabannenses*. It is often mentioned

under the name of *Civitas Morinorum*, having been the principal city of the territory of the Morini, in which Bonavem or Boulogne was also situated. (68) Boulogne was so connected with Tarvanna, that both places anciently formed but one episcopal see. Thus Jonas in his Life of the abbot Eustasius written near 1200 years ago calls Audomarus bishop of Boulogne and Tarvana. (69) It is probable that St. Patrick's reason for designating Bonaven by the adjunct *Taberniæ* was, lest it might be confounded with the Bononia of Italy, now Bologna, or with a Bononia in Aquitain, in the same manner as, to avoid a similar confusion, the French call it at present Boulogne *sur mer*. Perhaps it will be objected, that *Tabernia* is a different name from *Tarvenna*. In the first place it may be observed that, owing to the usual commutation of *b* for *v*, and viceversa, we might read *Tavernia*. Thus we have seen, that Tarvenna was called by some *Tarabanna*. To account for the further difference of the names nothing more is required than to admit the transposition of a syllable, or a letter, which has frequently occurred in old words, and particularly names of places. The Portuguese have changed *miraculum*, *miracle*, into *milagre ;* Nogesia, the name of a town, became *Genosia ;* (70) Dunbritton has been modified into *Dunbertane*, *Dunbarton*, *Dumbarton*. Probus agrees with the Confession, except that according to Colgan's edition, for *Bonavem Taberniæ*, he has *Bannave Tiburniæ regionis*, and adds that it was not far from the western sea (71) or Atlantic ocean. Although we may easily suppose, that some errors of transcription have crept into the text of Probus, yet as to *Bannave* there is no material difference between it and *Bonavem*. *Ban* might be used for *Bon* ; (72) and the final *m*, which was a sort of nasal termination, as it is still with the Portuguese, could be omitted so as to write for *Bonavem* or *Bonauem* (*v* and *u* being the same letter) *Bonaue*. Probus' ad-

dition of *regionis* is worth noticing, as it corresponds with what has been said concerning the *Tarvanensis regio.*

(57) *Tr. Th. p.* 220.

(58) " Patrem habui Calpornium diaconem, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit in vico *Bonavem Taberniæ ;* villulam *Enon* prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi." *Confess. sub init.* For *Enon* the Cotton *MS.* has *enim.* But what could *enim* there refer to? *Enon,* as Ware has it, is undoubtedly the true reading.

(59) *Pr. p.* 818.

(60) After telling us that St. Patrick was born in Nemthor, the author of the third Life adds (*cap.* 1.) " Patricius natus est in campo Taburniæ ; campus autem Tabernaculorum ob hoc dictus est, eo quod in eo Romani exercitus quodam tempore tabernacula sua ibi statuerunt hyemali frigore." See also the 4th Life, *cap.* 1. According to these writers Nemthor was *in* Taburnia. But Jocelin says, (*cap.* 1) that Nemthor was *near* Taburnia, and has nothing about the time of the year, in which the encampment took place.

(61) *Tr. Th. p.* 223.

(62) Neither the Itineraries, nor Camden, nor the other writers above referred to have a Taburnia or Tabernia in Great Britain.

(63) The Bollandists in their edition of the Confession at 17 *Mart.* read *Bonaven.*

(64) " Gessoriacum Galli circa Constantini maximi principatum mutato nomine *Bononiam* vocare coeperunt." Hadrianus Valesius, *Notitia Galliarum* at *Gessoriacum.*

(65) *Dictionaire Celtique, Memoires,* at *Am, Aven, On.*

(66) *Ib. Vol.* 1st. *p.* 55. at *Boulogne.*

(67) " Gallorum *Bononia* eodem pene est etymo ; quasi dicas *Bon-avon* sive *Bon-aun.*" Baxter, *Glossar. AA. Britan.* ad *Bonium.*

(68) See more on this subject *ap.* Hadr. Vales. *Not. Gall.* at *Gessoriacum* and *Tarvenna Morinorum.* Malbrancq states, that this capital of the Morini got the name of Tarvanna from a prætor Tarvannus in the time of Augustus ; " *Tarvannæ* nomen accepit, quod etiam *ad circumjacens territorium* sese ex-

tendit. He quotes from the frontispiece of its old cathedral this verse; "Ex Morinis Tarvana vocor prætore volente." *De Morinis; L. 2. c. 4.*

(69) *Bononiæ et Tarvanensis oppidi præsulem.* Some writers have said, that the see of Boulogne was first established A. D. 1566. This is a mistake founded upon a practice, introduced in the middle ages, of denominating the see from Tarvanna or Terouanne alone on account of the greater dignity of the place. But after the destruction of Terouanne by the emperor Charles V. in 1553 the see of Boulogne was restored. See Hadr. Vales. *locc. citt.* The old diocese of Terouanne contained 800 parishes in the countries of Flanders, Artois, and the *Boulonnais. (Memoire on Terouanne* in Millin's *Magaz. Encyclop.* for *October* 1813.) Bucherius maintains, that Boulogne was the ancient see, and that it had a bishop in the time of Constantine, or, at least, of his sons. (*Belgium Romanum, L.* viii. *cap.* 15.)

(70) Hadr. Vales. at *Gessoriacum;* "transpositis, ut sæpe accidit, duabus prioribus syllabis." Thus in the old tract on the Liturgy, quoted by Usher, *p.* 343, we find *Linerensi* for *Lirinensi.*

(71) "De vico Bannave Tiburniæ regionis haud procul a mari occidentali" Probus, *L.* 1. *c.* 1.

(72) Baxter, Glossar, &c. at *Bonium.*

§. VIII. Now comes a most remarkable circumstance, viz. the old tradition of the inhabitants of that country, that St. Patrick governed the diocese of Boulogne or of the Morini as bishop for some time before he set out on his mission for Ireland. Malbrancq, to prove the truth of it, refers (73) to the *Chronicon Morinense*, the Catalogue of the bishops of Boulogne, and the Life of St. Arnulphus of Soissons. We have no intrinsic evidence in opposition to this statement, although Malbrancq has given to St. Patrick's ministry as *bishop* at Boulogne a longer period than can be reconciled with other circumstances of our saint's life. The Bollandists are angry (74) with him for having placed St. Patrick at Boulogne, but were not able to refute his position. They say they could not find what he has

in any Life of Arnulph of Soissons. But might not Malbrancq have seen a Life, which they had not? As to his other arguments, their exception is, that bishops of Boulogne were unknown before the destruction of Terouanne. This we have seen not to be strictly true. But even admitting that Boulogne was not formerly a regular see, might not St. Patrick have officiated as bishop there and in the neighbourhood, as was frequently the case in the northern parts of Europe before episcopal dignity became permanently attached to certain towns?

It will not, I think, be denied, that under the name of Armoric Gaul was comprized the country of the Morini, or the tract, in which Boulogne is situated. Cluverius, Martiniere, and some other geographers have indeed confined Armorica between the Seine and the Loire; but in so doing they looked more to the usage of a certain period than to the more ancient acceptation of the name. For in older times the whole extent of the maritime districts of western Gaul was called Armorica, in so much that even Aquitain was distinguished by that name.(75) Hirtius, the continuator of Cæsar's Commentaries tells us, that the cities near the ocean in the extreme boundaries of Gaul were called *Armoricæ*. (76) This extended use of that name continued for a long time after, (77) and indeed very justly; for it merely means *maritime*. *Ar-mor (moir, muir)* in the Gaulish, British, and Irish languages signifies *by*, *upon*, or *near the sea*. The inhabitants of the sea coasts were accordingly called *Armorici*, and *Morini* has the same meaning. "The people" says Camden (78) "which in old time inha-" bited the sea coast of Gaul lying nearest to Britain, " were in their own language called Morini. Now " *Mor* is in British the sea.—The Britons call such " as live upon the sea coast *Morinwyr*; as *Aremorica* " in the old Gaulish, and now in the British signi- " fies *by the sea side*." And Lobineau observes,

that the countries of the Aquitani, Armorici, and Morini went under the general name of Armorica. (79) In process of time the name became gradually confined to the tract between the Seine and the Loire, and in after ages was still more limited, being understood of only the country now called Britany. (80)

(73) *De Morinis, L.* 2. *c.* 19, 26. and *Scholion* at *pag.* 623.

(74) *Comment. prævi. ad V. S. P.* §. 10. ad 17 *Mart.* Qu. Could the Bollandists prove, that St. Patrick did not officiate at Boulogne at least as a *priest?* See below *Chap.* IV. §. XIII.

(75) "Inde ad Pyrenæi montis excursum Aquitania, *Aremorica* antea dicta." Pliny, *Natur. Hist. L.* 4. *sect.* 31. Hardouin's *ed.*

(76) "Cæteræque civitates positæ in ultimis Galliæ finibus, oceano conjunctæ, quæ *Armoricæ* appellantur." *De bello Gallico, L.* 8. §. 25.

(77) Eutropius has, *L.* 19. "Carausius cum apud *Bononiam* per tractum Belgicæ et Armoricæ pacandum mare accepisset, quod Franci et Saxones infestabant."

(78) *Britannia, col.* XXIX. Gibson's *ed.*

(79) "Par le terme d'Armorique les anciens entendoient toutes les cotes occidentales des Gaules, habitées par les Aquitains, les Armoricains, et les *Morins*, tous noms qui signifient la même chose, c'est à dire, peuples maritimes." *Histoire de Bretagne, vol.* 2. *p.* 7.

(80) See Hadr. Val. *Not. Gall.* at *Aremorica.*

§. IX. The greater part of the old writers, who have spoken of the place, where St. Patrick, when a boy, was made captive, agree that it was in Armorica. Now it is plain from the Confession, that the place of his captivity was also that of the residence of his family, or a country house not far from their usual residence. The spot was called *Enon*, which might be translated *River-house* or *River-lodge*. (81) Fiech's Scholiast states, that certain pirates, when plundering Letha in Armoric Britain (82) where Patrick was

with his family, killed his father and brought himself away to Ireland. But, to reconcile this statement with what occurs in a former scholion concerning Nemthor and Alcluit, he premises that St Patrick's father and mother and five sisters together with a brother had all set out on a visit from Alcluit to Armorica, and crossed the Iccian sea, (83) which, by the bye, was the very part of the sea near Boulogne. That would have been no trifling excursion for a whole family about the close of the fourth century, and through such a country as G. Britain then was. Keating says; (84) "I have read in an ancient "Irish manuscript, whose authority I cannot dispute, "that St. Patrick and his two sisters were brought "captive into Ireland from Armorica or Britany in "the kingdom of France." O'Flaherty agrees (85) with Keating as to St. Patrick having been brought from Armorica, but adds the story (of which not a word in Keating) concerning the journey all the way from the banks of the Clyde to that country. The Tripartite has (86) the same story, and agrees on the whole with the Scholiast. The author of the fourth Life, not knowing how to account for St. Patrick's connexions with Armorica, says (87) that he was of an Armorican family, but that in consequence of a certain dispersion of the Britons by the Romans his parents had removed to the neighbourhood of the Clyde. Jocelin found it more convenient to be silent as to St. Patrick's having been made captive in Armorica, but has made up another story of his own invention to account for St. Patrick's mother having been a native of Gaul. For he tells us, (88) that she and a sister of hers had been made slaves and sold in N. Britain. It is strange, that Usher could have swallowed these fables of Jocelin, and opposed his authority, as to Armorica, to the Scholiast. (89) Probus, whom Usher knew to be more ancient (90) than Jocelin, in a passage, which he has quoted on another

occasion, (91) calls St. Patrick's country, and the town where his family lived, *Arimuric*, (92) or Armorica.

(81) *Enn* habitation, and *On* river. Bullet at *Enn*.

(82) "Fecerunt prædas in Britanniæ Armoricae regione Letha, ubi Patricius cum familia fuit;" &c. *Scholion* 5. *Letha* has nearly the same meaning as *Armorica*, being the British *Llydaw*, i. e. *litoralis, upon the shore*. Camden seems to confine Letha, or, as some writers of the middle ages call it, *Letavia* to the tract now called Britany. (*col.* CXXXII.) Whether the Scholiast understood it so or not, is of little consequence, whereas it it sufficient to show that, according to him, St. Patrick's captivity took place in some part of Armorica.

(83) *Trans mare Iccium*. This part of the ocean was so called from the Portus Iccius, which Cluverius thinks was the same as Gessoriacum or Boulogne. Horsley would have it to be the port of Calais. (*Brit. Rom. Book* 1. *ch.* 1.) I am more inclined to follow Baudrand, who (*Lexic. Geogr.*) makes it the same as Witsant or Vissent, or, as the sailors call it, Esseu, a harbour four leagues to the north of Boulogne. This was also Camden's opinion, *col.* 251. At any rate it was somewhere in that neighbourhood.

(84) *History of Ireland; Book* 1. *p.* 156. Dublin *ed. A.* 1723.

(85) *Ogygia, L.* 3. *c.* 85. (86) *L.* 1. *c.* 16. (87) *Cap.* 1.

(88) *Cap.* 1. (89) See *Pr. p.* 822. 828. (90) *Ib. p.* 817.

(91) *Ib. p.* 833.

(92) "Cum adhuc esset in *patria sua* cum patre Calpurnio et matre Concessa, fratre etiam Ructhi et sorore Mila nomine, in *civitate eorum Arimuric*, facta est seditio magna in partibus illis. Nam filii Rethmiti regis de Britannia vastantes *Arimuric*," &c. (Probus, *L.* 1. *c.* 12.) Colgan in a note says, that *civitate eorum Arimuric* is wrong, because Arimuric or Armorica was the name not of a town but of a large tract of country. But he might have easily known, that the epithet *Armorica* could and actually used to be applied to the towns in that maritime range. See above *note* 76.

§. x. But how can this Armorican origin of St.

Patrick be reconciled with Fiech's Nemthur? So far from there being any difficulty in the matter, there cannot be a stronger proof of what has been hitherto advanced than that very word as originally used by Fiech. Instead of *Nemthur*, it ought to be spelled *Nemhthur* as it is by Colgan, (93) and as it certainly was by all those, who interpreted it *Holy or heavenly tower*. Now *Nemhthur*, according to the Irish pronunciation, must be read *Nevthur*, whereas the letter *m* with *h* added to it, or a point placed over it, is pronounced like *v*. Between *v*, *ph*, and *p* the affinity is so great, that they have been and are frequently used for each other. Thus then we have *Nevthur*, *Nephthur*, *Nepthur*. (94) This must have been a proper name and not a mere epithet, such as that of holy tower; for no sensible writer, wishing to inform his readers, where his saint was born, would say that he came to the world in a *holy tower*, a phrase that might be applicable to hundreds of places, particularly in Ireland, where round towers existed from time immemorial. It cannot have been the name of a town, unless we are to place Fiech in direct opposition to St. Patrick himself, who, as we have seen, calls his town *Bonauem*. (95) It was accordingly the name of a country or province well known at the time that Fiech's hymn was composed. We find such a country in the Gauls, viz. the great province usually called *Neustria*, but often *Neptricum* or *Neptria*. It comprized the extensive tract situated between the Meuse and the Loire, and consequently the territory of Boulogne. The name originated with the Franks about the time of the death of Clovis, (96) and probably was given from that being a newly conquered country, as if we were to say, *New land*. (97) According as other names began to be used for some parts of that great province, that of *Neptria* or *Neustria* became confined (98) to a smaller part of the whole, but not until long after Fiech's hymn had been written. Here again comes forward

Probus, who, regularly consistent with himself as to St. Patrick's country, gives us the true meaning of Fiech by asserting, that Bannaue or Bonavem, the birth place of the saint, was undoubtedly in the province of Nevtria. (99)

(93) *Tr. Th. p.* 223.

(94) Hence the *Nempthor* or *Empthor* of Jocelin, *capp.* I. XI. who, however, when spelling it with *p*, should have thrown out the *m*.

(95) Lynch's conjecture as to Holy Tours (see above *Not.* 55) is ingenious, but cannot be made to agree with the text of the Confession. That city was in our saint's time so respectable and celebrated that, had he been a native of it, nothing could have been more easily expressed. Nor would there have been any necessity for adding the name of the district, such as *Taburniae*. Besides, such a city as Tours could not have been denominated *vicus*. Let me add, that Tours was never comprized in any part of Armorica; nor could it be so, lying at too great a distance from the sea.

(96) On the various points here touched upon see Hadr. Vales. *Notit. Gall.* at *Neustria*.

(97) See Baxter at *Neustria*. (98) Hadr. Vales. *loc. cit.*

(99) "Quem vicum (Bannaue) indubitanter comperimus esse *Nevtriae Provinciae*, in qua olim gigantes habitasse dicuntur." *L.* 1. *c.* 1. This is one of the passages, which induced Colgan to dislike Probus. The Bollandists blame him for having used the word *Nevtria*; for, they say, he should have called it *Nemthuria*, and not made a province of it, as it was but a town. Those writers, being unacquainted with the Irish language, followed implicitly on many points Usher and Colgan. And why should Probus not make Nevtria a province, having just before mentioned the town Bannaue? Was he to say, that the town *Bannaue* was in the town *Nevtria*? They respected, however, Probus as an author, and have defended him against an unwarrantable attack of Stanihurst. Some others, among whom Harris, (*Bishops*, *p.* 6.) have endeavoured to depreciate the authority of Probus, who, in spite of their wish to support the fable of Nemthor in G. Britain, is vastly more respectable than their favourite Jocelin.

§. XI. The same Probus calls St. Patrick a Briton, (100) and so is he usually called in chronicles, breviaries, &c. (101) In the older tracts of this kind Britain was said in general terms to have been his country; but in some of the later ones the word, *great*, has been added to *Britain*. To guard against this interpolation, the corrector of the breviary of Rouen has in the lessons for St. Patrick marked the Britain, his real country, by adding *Gallicana*. (102) This was the Britain, which Probus had in view, and which St. Patrick himself must have meant, when he mentions his having been in Britain with his parents; (103) for there is no other Britain, in which the town *Bonavem Taberniae* can be met with. But this Gallican, or rather Aremoric, Britain must not be confounded with the country now called Britany; for it lay much farther to the north. Pliny places in the very neighbourhood of Boulogne a people called *Britons*, whose territory stretched to near Amiens. (104) He mentions also the British harbour of the Morini, *portum Morinorum Britannicum*, (105) which is generally admitted to have been that of Boulogne. (106) Some learned men are of opinion, that it was so called because it was the harbour, whence people used to sail from the continent to G. Britain; (107) or because it was situated near the streights. (108) These are far fetched explanations, and which we are not under any necessity of receiving, whereas the Britanni are placed by Pliny in its vicinity, (109) that is, as Camden expresses it, near the county of Boulogne. (110) How far this Britain extended to the north or north-east of Boulogne cannot, for aught I know, be ascertained. Some remains of the name of Britain are found near the mouths of the Rhine; (111) but, as some writers contend that the place called *Het huys te Britten* (house of the Britons) owes its name to an occurrence of a much later period, (112) I shall not enter into any question upon this subject. It

comes nearer to our purpose, that Pliny calls the part of the ocean between the Rhine and the Seine *Britannic;* (113) and I think it cannot be reasonably doubted, that the *Herba Britannica*, which he makes mention of, (114) got its name from a Britain in the continent, having been found in some part of the country now called Belgium.

That there was such a continental Britain, and in the very tract alluded to by Pliny, is expressly stated by Dionysius Periegetes, who describing the western *continent* of Europe, and proceeding from south to north, places the Britons near the northern ocean just before the Germans. (115) The text is so plain, that it has been understood by all the old commentators of a Britain in the continent, and Eustathius adds that opposite to it were the islands of the same name, viz. the British islands, which, he says, will be treated of hereafter. (116) I have been therefore surprized on observing, that Hill in his commentary on that passage strives, in opposition to Eustathius, to explain it of G. Britain; for, says he, there were no other Britons in Dionysius' time except those of the British islands. (117) This is indeed begging the question, and a strange critical mode of getting rid of the plain meaning of the author, who, within five short lines, twice makes his readers know that he is there speaking not of islands but of a continent, which, he tells us, some persons said was like in its form to the hide of an ox. But it has surprised me still more to find, that such a man as Usher could have led the way to this misinterpretation. He does not indeed deny, that there were at a very ancient period Britons in the tract, where Pliny has placed them, although he would rather call them *Brianni;* (118) but he says that there is no reason to show, that the *Britons* of Dyonisius might not be understood of the inhabitants of G. Britain. (119) Now what stronger reason need be required than that the author was in that passage expressly treating of a

continent? There is, however, a still stronger reason, and of such a nature, that one would almost suspect that Usher had, in his inquiry concerning those Britons, looked into no other part of the *Periegesis*, than the above quoted passage. If Dionysius had not mentioned in his poem the British islands, there might be some colour for Usher's evasion; for it might be concluded, that he knew so little about them as to make them part of the continent. But he knew them well, and in that part of his work, where he is treating of islands, (120) describes them as situated opposite to the mouth of the Rhine, and represents them as the largest islands known in his time. (121)

(100) *L.* 1. *c.* 1. (101) See *Tr. Th. p.* 190. *seqq.* 222. *seqq.*

(102) "*In Britannia Gallicana ortum.*" See the Bollandists. *Comm. praev.* §. 5. at *S. Patr.*

(103) "Et iterum post paucos annos in *Britanniis* eram cum parentibus meis." *Conf. p.* 9. Ware's *ed.* The Bollandist edition has "in *Britannia.*" Dr. O'Conor's (1. *Prolegom. R. Hib. Scr.*) has *Britanniis.*

(104) "Deinde Menapii, Morini, Oromansici, juncti pago, qui Gessoriacus vocatur, *Britanni*, Ambiani, &c." *Nat. Hist. L.* 4. *sect.* 31. Hardouin's *ed.* Cluverius (*German. antiq. L.* 2. *c.* 27), who is followed by Usher *Pr. p.* 421.) wished to read *Brianni* for *Britanni;* but Hardouin, in a note to the name, says; "*Ita libri omnes.* Hi inter Gessoriacenses Ambianosque medii, in ora similiter positi ea loca tenuere certe, ubi nunc oppida Stapulae, Monstrolium, Hesdinium, et adjacentem agrum Ponticum, *le Ponthieu*, ad Somonam amnem."

(105) *L.* 4. *sect.* 37.

(106) So Hadrian Valesius at *Gessoriacum;* Cellarius, *Geogr. Ant. L.* 2. *c.* 3. and others *passim.* Baudrand, however, makes it the same as Portus Iccius, which he distinguishes from Boulogne. See above *not.* 83.

(107) Hardouin, *not. ad loc. cit.*

(108) Hadr. Val. at *Gessoriacum.*

(109) Ricardus Corenensis, following Pliny, for *Britannicas*

portus has *Britannicae gentis portus*. *De situ Britanniae, L.* 1. §. 4.

(110) *Britannia*, Gibson's *ed. col.* XVI.

(111) Baudrand has; "Britanni etiam pop. Belgii, quorum tractus apud ostium Rheni *Thuys* (Het huys) *te Britten* appellatur, teste Ortelio."

(112) See Usher *Pr. p.* 418.

(113) "Ad Rhenum septentrionalis oceanus, inter Rhenum et Sequanam *Britannicus*, inter eum et Pyrenaeum Gallicus. *L.* 4. *sect.* 33. I do not see why this name might not be as well derived from the continental Britain as from the insular.

(114) *L.* 25. *cap.* 3. Hardouin says it was so called from Bretannia in Friesland. Hadrian Junius *(Onomast.)* and some others account for the name otherwise; but their explanation is not as natural as the former.

(115) Μηκος επ' ηπειροιο τετραμμενον, ηχι βορειη
Ωκεανος κεχυται ψυχρος ροος· ενθα Βρετανοι,
Λευκα τε φυλα νεμονται αρειμανιων Γερμανων,
Ερκυνιης δρυμοιο παραδρωσκοντες ορουσας.
Ηπειρον κεινην ικελην ενεπησι Βοειη. OIK. ΠΕΡΙΗΓ. *v.* 283—287.

(116) Των δε Βρεττανων τητων παρωνυμοι αι αντιπεραν Βρεττανιδες νησοι, περι ων ρηθησεται. Eustathius *Comment. ad loc. cit.*

(117) Hill refers on this occasion to Camden's *Britannia;* but Camden distinctly admits a Britain near Boulogne (above *not.* 110). Was Hill too proud to acknowledge, that there were Britons in the continent as ancient, at least, as those of his own country?

(118) See above *not.* 104. (119) *Pr. p.* 422.

(120) Having described the continents of Africa and Europe, he begins at *v.* 447, to treat of islands, having first invoked the Muse,

——————συ δε μοι Διος εννεπε Μουσα
Νησων πασαων ιερον πορον αιτ' ενι ποντω, &c.

(121) Δισσαι νησοι εασι Βρετανιδες αντια Ρηνου—
Των τοι μεγεθος περιωσιον· ωδε τις αλλη
Νησοις εν πασησι Βρετανισιν ισοφαριζει. *v.* 566—569.

§. XII. I believe there can be no doubt but that the Britons of Albion were originally colonists from

the Britannia of the continent. Bede states, that they came from the Armorican tract, and that from them the island of Britain received its name. (122) This offers a much more rational account of the origin of that name, than any of those ridiculous fables about Brutus, &c. which may be seen in Camden, or the fanciful, though learned, etymological conjectures of Bochart, who strives to prove, (123) that the name of the country was prior to that of the inhabitants, *Barat-anac*, the land of lead, whence *Bretanica*, *Bretania*, and, last of all, *Britons*. Camden himself leans to what had been laid down by Bede, which is perfectly consistent with what he has most learnedly proved, (124) viz. that the Britons came originally from Gaul. Every one knows what Cæsar has said concerning the maritime parts of Britain (that is, to the S. E. which alone he was acquainted with) being inhabited by people from Belgium. (125) And it would be idle to refer in this place to the authorities of Tacitus, Dio, &c. (126) on a matter at present so universally admitted.

At a later period this continental Britain received a great supply of men from the island. The usurper Maximus, on his expedition to Gaul against the emperor Gratian, landed at the mouth of the Rhine (127) A. D. 383. He was accompanied by a vast number of the youth of Great Britain, who never after returned to their own country. (128) Nennius says, that those followers of Maximus got tracts of land in various parts of the continent, some of which were near Cantguic. (129) As to the other places mentioned by Nennius I shall not attempt to give any opinion. (130) But I think it can scarcely be doubted that by *Cantguic* he meant the place called *Catwyck* or *Katwick* in Holland, two leagues below Leyden, where the middle branch of the Rhine formerly joined the sea, and near which a Dutch chronicler quoted by Usher (131) places a British settlement and the fortress since called *Het huys te Britten*. (132) Usher adduces other autho-

rities to show, that there was a British establishment in that neighbourhood, although, by the bye, he ascribes it to the refugees, who fled from Britain to avoid the fury of the Saxons. Yet it is difficult to believe, that such disheartened and persecuted fugitives could have erected, or, as Usher would have it, seized upon a fortress in a strange country, and, as his authorities state, subjected to their power the inhabitants of the neighbouring district. It will, I think, be allowed that such an undertaking and settlement ought, with much greater probability, be attributed to the fighting men, who followed Maximus to the continent, and a part of whom, it is but natural to suppose, was left to defend his point of communication with Great Britain. Nor can I agree with Usher, however favourable his opinion would be to my object, that the *Brittia* of Procopius is to be sought for in or near Holland. (133) For on close examination of the text of Procopius it will appear, that his *Brittia* was in reality the island of Britain, although, through a strange ignorance of geography, he distinguishes *Brittia* from *Britannia*.(134)

(122) "In primis autem hæc insula Britones solum, *a quibus nomen accepit*, incolas habuit, qui de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Britanniam advecti australes sibi partes illius vindicarunt." *Eccl. Hist. L.* 1. *c.* 1. Some of those writers, who have treated the much disputed subject of the first settlement of the Britons in the country now called Britany, among others Lobineau, would fain make us believe that Bede did not mean to say, that the island derived its name from that of the colonists. In answer to such quibbling, I wish they would explain why, if that had not been his intention, he touched upon the name at all. He is there giving an account of the divers nations, who, having come from other countries, occupied by degress the whole of the island. The first settlers, he says, were the Britons, and from these the island got the name of Britain. What can be more plain? Then, he adds, came the nation of the Picts from Scythia, that is, a people.

according to him, called Picts before they arrived in Great Britain; after whom came the Scots, who were already known by that name in Ireland. The reason, that induced those writers to resort to that quibble, was that, in their opinion, there was no foundation for placing Britons in the province now called Britany before the middle of the 5th century. Be it so; but it does not thence follow, that there were not Britons in some other part of the continent. The Armorican tract mentioned by Bede was, as has been shown, far more extensive than modern Britany.

(123) *Chanaan*, *L.* 1. *c.* 39.

(124) *Britannia*, *col.* xvi. xvii. *seqq.* A. Du Chesne has also treated the same subject at great length; *Histoire d'Angleterre*, &c. *Liv.* 1. but he has given us scarcely any thing of his own, having followed Camden almost verbatim.

(125) Britanniæ—maritima pars ab iis (incolitur) qui, prædæ ac belli inferendi causa, ex Belgis transierant, qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt." *De bello Gallico*; *L.* 5. §. 10.

(126) See Whitaker's *Hist. of Manchester*; *Vol.* 1. *Corrections. p.* 152.

(127) See Camden, *col.* 1501.

(128) " Exin Britannia omni armato milite, militaribusque copiis,—ingenti juventute spoliata, quæ comitata vestigiis supradicti tyranni *domum nusquam ultra rediit.*" Gildas, *De excid. Brit. cap.* XI.

(129) " Noluitque (Maximus) dimittere milites, qui cum eo perrexerunt a Britannia, neque ad uxores suas, neque ad filios, neque ad possessiones eorum, sed dedit illis multas regiones a stagno, quod est super verticem montis Jovis usque ad civitatem, quæ vocatur Cantguic, (Prisius, *Hist. Bryt. Def. p.* 50, has *Cantiguit*, and Gale's edition *Tantguit*) *et usque* ad cumulum Occidentalem, id est, *Cruc-ochidient*. Gale's edition has, " *et ipsi sunt* ad cumulum occidentalem, i. e. *Crutochidenit*.

(130) According to Hadr. Valesius *Mons Jovis* is the great St. Bernard. *Cruc-ochidient* means western mountain. (Camden *col.* 561.) Could Nennius have meant the Pyrenees? Gildas writes, (*cap.* 10.) that Maximus extended one of his wings to Spain and the other to Italy.

(131) *P.* 418. (132) See also Martiniere at *Katwich*.

(133) See *Pr. p.* 400. 419.

(134) The passage is in Procopius' work, *De bello Gothico, L.* 4. *cap.* 20. "Brittia autem *insula* in hoc oceano sita est, haud amplius CC. stadiis procul a litore, contra ipsa Rheni ostia, inter Britanniam ac Thulen insulam. Etenim Britannia ad solem occidentem, quà extremam Hispaniam spectat, a continente stadia circiter quatuor millia distat. Brittia ultimis objacet Galliæ partibus, quæ ad oceanum vergunt—Porro Brittiam insulam nationes tres numerosissimæ, suo quæque sub rege, habitant, Angli, Frisones, cognominesque insulæ Brittones. Tanta est hominum multitudo, &c. In ea insula *Brittia* murum longum veteres ædificarunt," &c. Here we have the island Brittia opposite the mouths of the Rhine about 25 miles from the continent, and over against the furthermost parts of Gaul, an island inhabited by three very numerous nations, Angles, &c. containing a vast multitude of inhabitants, just as Cæsar had said of Britain in his time, and in which a long wall had been formerly built. Such a description cannot suit any island in or near Holland, but agrees exactly with Great Britain. But what shall we say of his placing Brittia between Britannia and Thule? I know not how to explain it, except that perhaps by *Britannia* he meant Ireland. His placing it towards Spain, as Bede (*Eccl. Hist. L. c.* 1.) also does, and about 500 miles from the continent, seems to favour this conjecture.

§. XIII. To return to Nennius, there is every reason to believe, that the followers of Maximus spread themselves to the southward along the Belgic coast, and even to a greater extent than the boundaries of the ancient Britain, of which we have already spoken. But whether they were the first British settlers in the country now called Britany, it would be presumptuous to decide. Nennius seems to have thought so; for he derives from them the Armoric Britons, (135) by whom he very probably meant, according to the usage of his times, the inhabitants of Britany. In an interpolation of Nennius, which seems to have been originally a note to the passage above referred to, we read that those followers of Maximus

laid waste the western parts of Gaul, and killed the male inhabitants, but spared the females, whom they took to themselves as wives. (136) Several old writers, mentioned by Usher, (137) assign the same origin to the Britons of Britany, and they are followed by Baronius, Malbrancq, and many others.(138) But Usher and Lobineau maintain, that the first British settlement in the tract now called Britany was after the Saxon invasion of Great Britain. The latter places (139) the arrival of the British emigrants under a chief of the name of Rival or Reith about A. D. 458. One of his arguments against the contrary opinion is, that Maximus landed with his army not in that part of Gaul but at the mouth of the Rhine (140) Although I am not inclined to oppose Lobineau's system, which, as some writers think, gives even an older and more dignified origin to the Bretons than they are entitled to, (141) yet it cannot be denied that there were in the fifth century some respectable assemblages of Britons in Gaul. We find a Riothamus or Riothimus king of the Britons, who, as stated by Jornandes, (142) went with 12,000 men to Bourges as auxiliary to the Romans in the time of the emperor Anthemius, and therefore prior to A. D. 472, the year in which Anthemius was killed. To this Riothamus there is extant a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris, who in another place makes mention of Britons placed near the Loire. (143) He is not, as Lobineau has observed, to be confounded with Rival above mentioned. These Britons, who appear to have been so powerful, could not have been part of the refugees from Great Britain, who according to Gildas and Bede were poor stragglers and runaways, (144) evidently unable to form such an army. Nor is it to be granted to Lobineau, that Riothimus brought that army from G. Britain, and, as he says, about A. D. 470. For who can be made to believe, that at the very period, during which the people of Great Britain were struggling with various succes-

against their Saxon enemies, (145) a king and a considerable army (146) would have abandoned their own country and gone elsewhere to fight other people's battles? Riothimus therefore and his Britons were undoubtedly continental Britons; and, comparing all the circumstances, their country appears to have stretched from the Rhine southwards into, at least, a part of the extensive tract now called Normandy. This further extension of the old Britain was most probably owing to the establishment of the followers of Maximus in those parts of Gaul.

(135) After what has been quoted above, *Not.* 129, Nennius continues; "Hi sunt Britones Armorici, et numquam reversi sunt ad proprium solum usque in hodiernum diem." I am willing to allow, that in his days (about the middle of the 9th century) the name of Armoric Britons was usually applied only to the people of Britany. Yet it must be observed that he could not mean, that the territories, which the followers of Maximus got possession of, were confined to that province, as he had just before spoken of many and extensive tracts, in which they were settled. Accordingly his meaning must have been, that the Armoric Britons were descended from part of that great multitude, which had accompanied Maximus.

(136) "Britones namque Armorici, qui ultra mare sunt, cum Maximo tyranno hinc in expeditionem exeuntes, quoniam redire nequiverant, occidentales partes Galliæ solo tenus vastaverunt—acceptisque eorum uxoribus et filiabus in conjugium;" &c.

(137) *P.* 421.

(138) Among the writers of our own days, who are of the same opinion, I find Gifford, who says that Britany was so called from the followers of Maximus. (*Hist. of France, Vol.* 1. *p.* 34.

(139) *Hist. de Bretagne; Vol.* 1. *p.* 5. (140) *Ib. p.* 6.

(141) Vertot has attacked Lobineau's system, and will not allow that there were Britons in Bretagne or Britany about the year 458. He pretends, that they were not fixed there until the sixth century, when they were received as fugitives by Childebert and Clotaire the sons of Clovis; *History of the establishment of*

the Bretons, a political work undertaken to show the original dependence of the Bretons on the kings of France.

(142) *De rebus Geticis; cap.* 45.

(143) "Britannos supra Ligerim sitos." *L.* 1. *Ep.* 7. Was it in that part where Blois is now situated, which is said to have been founded by Britons?

(144) "Alii fame confecti procedentes manus hostibus dabant —alii transmarinas regiones dolentes petebant." Bede *L.* 1. *c.* 15. from Gildas *cap.* 25.

(145) See Bede *L.* 1. *c.* 16. and Smith's notes. The contest was kept up from about A. D. 456 to 492 the year of the great victory gained by the Britons near Bath.

(146) From the letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (*L.* 3. *Ep.* 9.) to Riothamus, whom both Usher (*p.* 143.) and Sirmond (*Not. ad loc.*) make the same as the king Riothimus, it is clear, that they were a brave and powerful body of men, of whom the 12,000, that fought near Bourges against the Visigoths, seem to have been only a detachment. Sidonius styles them *armatos, tumultuosos, virtute, numero, contubernio contumaces.*

§. XIV. The name, *Britain*, as applied to part of Belgium and the northwest of Gaul, was well understood not only in the time of St. Patrick, who lived during the period that we have now been speaking of, but likewise in a later age. In a Life of our St. Fursæus we read, that having crossed the sea for the purpose of going to Rome, he arrived in the province of Britain, that is, as appears from the whole context, a Britain in the continent, and that on his landing he proceeded through the district of Ponthieu to a place belonging to Duke Haymon. (147) Ponthieu is a maritime tract in Picardy extending to near Boulogne, and it is known from other authorities, that it was the residence of that Duke. (148) The saint's journey was directed to the south-east; and he is represented as proceeding towards Rome. Hence it is evident, that the writer did not mean by *Britain* the modern Britany; for Ponthieu lies in a quite opposite direction to a journey to Rome from

any part of Britany. It is also to be observed, that the province of Britain, in which Fursæus had arrived, is said to be *called by the moderns Normandy*. Now in the first place Britany was never included under that name, and secondly at the time, in which the compiler of the Life, as we now have it, lived, the province of Britany was in full possession of its own name, nor has it lost it at any time since it was first so called ; while the name of the old Britain, in which was Ponthieu, was gradually swallowed up in the general denomination of Neptria, or Neustria, after the acquisition of that country by the Franks, and after it became a part of the kingdom of Soissons under Clotaire one of the sons of Clovis. The passage relative to the name of Normandy has puzzled the Bollandists on perceiving, that it excluded both Great Britain and Britany, which were the only Britains, that they seem to have had any thought of. They object, that Ponthieu is not in Normandy. It certainly is not, taking the name according to the precise boundaries of that province as fixed at present. They might, however, have easily found that, after the Normans began to occupy various parts of the north-west of Gaul, the name *Normannia* was used indiscriminately for that of *Neustria*, (149) under which name Ponthieu, Boulogne, &c. were, as we have seen, formerly contained. The names of *Neustria* and *Normannia* became so identified, that, according as one of them happened to be limited to a smaller extent of country, so was the other. The modern Normans, when writing in Latin, call their country Neustria. (150)

Besides the positive arguments hitherto alleged to show, that there was a Belgic Britain before the conquests of the Franks in that country, I might adduce many indications corroborative of what has been stated, such as the mention made by some ancient authors of the *Alobrites* or *Gallo-britons* of those tracts, the great probability of the Frisii and the

older Britons having been the same people. But, to avoid prolixity, I beg leave to refer the reader to some passages in the subjoined note. (151)

(147) "In Britanniam provinciam quæ a modernis Normannia nuncupatur,—pervenit. Veniens autem per Pontivum pagum in possessionem quamdam Haymonis ducis, quæ Macerias et Maioc vocabatur." *(Vita S. Furs. L. 2. ap.* Colgan *AA. SS.* at 16 *Jan.)* This Life has been published also by the Bollandists at same day. It was compiled from older documents, as appears on comparing it with the very ancient Life of Fursæus published by Mabillon *(AA. SS. Ord. Bened. Sec. II. p. 299. seqq.)* and with the account given of that saint by Bede, *L.* 3. *c.* 19. The compiler, who is supposed to have been Arnulfus Abbas Latiniacensis (abbot of Lagny between Paris and Meaux) has, however, made many additions, partly from documents no longer extant, and partly as observations and interpolations of his own. (See Mabillon *loc. cit.*) One of those interpolations is evidently the passage; *quæ a modernis Normannia nuncupatur;* and indicates a writer not earlier than the tenth century. Arnulfus lived in the eleventh. But the words, *Britannia provincia,* must have been taken from an old document; for that name had, long before Arnulfus' time, ceased to be given to the country, in which Ponthieu is situated; and hence the compiler, to prevent any mistake of the reader, remarked that in his time it was called Normandy.

(148) Hadrian Valesius writes; "*Pagum Pontivum* vetus liber de vita S. Judoci vocat; vocat et liber vetustissimus de vita B. Fursæi abbatis; et ambæ vitæ Haimonem ducem in eo pago sedem habuisse tradunt." *Notit. Gall.* at *Pontivus pagus.*

(149) Hadr. Vales. at *Nortmannia.*

(150) Bochart (Dedication of his *Geogr. Sacra*) speaking of Caen in Normandy calls it *Cadomum Neustriæ oppidum.*

(151) "Alobrites apud Anonymum antiquissimum Belgarum nomen fuit, quasi dicas *Gallobritones.* In Vaticano codice dicuntur vitiose vel saltem *συνονυμως Alobriges.*" Baxter, *Glossar. Antiq. Brit.* ad *Alobrites.*—"Sunt autem Aremorici veteres *Belgæ,* hoc est, *Alobrites,* sive *Belgicæ Britanniæ* reliquiæ." *Idem* ad *Aremorici.*—"Prodente Dionysio Afro hi (Britanni) Germanis

proximi Flandriam sive Wallonum patriam occupavere. Dionysii interpres Eustathius et *alios* esse scribit in adversa insula *Britannos*, quos quidem fuisse *Belgas* veteres sive Wallones—nullus dubito. Et cum Plinius scribat *Herbam Britannicam* a *Frisiis* Germanici militibus ostensam, pronum est credere ipsos *Frisios* dictos fuisse *Britannos*, imo et initio *Belgas universos*. Certe Aremoricis Britannis horum ἀπογόνοις *Breiz* eorum dicitur *Britannia*; et *Prezec Brizonec, Aremorice loqui* est.—Etsi dissimulandum non sit tantumdem esse, sive quis dicat *Frisones, Brisones, Britones*, sive *Brigantes*, pro dialectorum scilicet diversitate. Etiam Ravennati geographo *Frisones* dicuntur *Frixi* et *Frigones*—Quid quod et Procopio in libro de bello Gothico *Frisii* dicantur una cum Anglis Britanniam nostram incolere? Plinius etiam *Belgicorum Britannorum* meminit; imo vel anonymo Ravennati *Galliæ Belgicæ* sive *Franciæ Rhinensis* incolæ *Alobrites* tamquam *Gallobritones* appellantur." *Idem* ad *Britanni*.

§. xv. St. Patrick mentions his country under the name of *Britanniæ*. It is not improbable that the using of that name in the plural number was owing to there having been more Britains than one, in the same manner as, when the name *Gaul* began to be extended to countries contiguous to the original Gaul or country of the Celts, we find *Galliæ* often used instead of *Gallia*. (152) A passage of St. Patrick's Confession, in which he thus names his country, has been quoted above. (153) In another place he says that he had a great wish to go to the Britains, as to his country, and to see his relatives, and to proceed as far as the Gauls for the purpose of visiting the brethren and the saints. (154) I have quoted this passage, lest it might be supposed that I wished to evade an objection, which some minor critics would probably frame on our saint's having distinguished his Britain from Gaul. They might argue thus: the Britain I am treating of was itself in the Gauls, having been a part of Belgic Gaul; therefore St. Patrick's Britain could have been no other than Great Britain. To this I answer

that the country, called in later times *Belgic Gaul*, was originally quite distinct from the real and properly called Gaul, which comprized only the country of the *Celts*, the name by which they called themselves, and which the Romans changed into *Galli*. It was separated from Belgium by the rivers Marne and Seine, as it was from Aquitain by the Garonne. The languages, institutions, and laws of those three countries were different. The authority of Cæsar (155) is decisive on these subjects, although he himself, in compliance with the Roman phraseology and for brevity sake, often comprizes them all under the general name of *Gaul*, which was used at Rome in consequence of the nearest parts, to Italy, of that great continent to the west of the Rhine, whence so many swarms of warriors issued and crossed the Alps, having belonged to the country of the Celts or real *Galli*. Had those parts borne the name of *Belgium*, this would probably have become the general name instead of *Gallia*. But, although the Romans spoke in that manner, the respective inhabitants of those countries retained among themselves the true original names. Thus in the continent of Europe a person, except one well versed in geography, is seldom met with that has heard of Wales, and who does not speak of the whole country, to the south of Scotland, under the general name of England. Should a foreigner, not well acquainted with the topography of our islands, hear you say that being in Dublin you had wished to go to Wales and then to England, he would not understand you. Now his difficulty would be exactly similar to that, upon which the objection above proposed would be founded. A man living at Rome, and accustomed to hear only the general name of *Gaul* used for all the countries between the Rhine and the ocean, would, alluding to the tracts mentioned by St. Patrick, probably not have distinguished the Britain, mentioned by St. Patrick, from Gaul. But the saint well knew the name

of his country; and it was, at the time he was writing, well understood by the people whom he was addressing. It may be here incidentally observed, that St. Patrick's calling his country *Britain* furnishes a very strong argument in favour of the antiquity of his *Confession*; for that name, as has been already remarked, began to fall into disuse after that of *Neustria* became prevalent. To show still more of what little weight such an objection ought to be considered, let it suffice to add that Britany, although situated in the real Gaul, and although it got its name at a comparatively very late period, yet is spoken of as a country distinct from the Gauls. Thus we read that St. Maclovius bishop of St. Malo, being driven from his see, cursed the Bretons and went to the Gauls. (156) Should any one, however, wish for a text, in which Gaul is mentioned as St. Patrick's country, there is at hand a passage of Probus, who lived at a time when the name of *Britain* had became obsolete with regard to the Belgic one, in which he writes that on the saint's endeavouring to escape from Ireland a man sold him to be carried to *Gaul*, and that the sailors brought him to *his own country*, having landed at Bourdeaux (157)

(152) Catullus has them both in one line; "Hunc Galliæ timent, timent Britanniæ." xxvii. His saying *Britanniæ* cannot be ascribed to the division of Great Britain, that took place when it fell under the government of the Romans, such as *prima, secunda, Maxima Cæsariensis*, &c. whereas these divisions did not exist until after Catullus' death; nor could any part of Great Britain be called a Roman province in his time, as appears from the well known testimony of Tacitus: "Igitur primus omnium Romanorum D. Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas, ac litore potitus sit, potest videri *ostendisse posteris non tradidisse*. Mox bella civilia—ac longa oblivio Britanniæ etiam in pace—Divus Claudius auctor operis—redactaque paullatim *in formam provinciæ proxima pars* Britanniæ." (*Julii Agricolæ Vita.*) I know indeed, that the reason generally as-

signed for the plural form, *Britanniæ*, is that the other islands near Great Britain were comprised under that name. I doubt, however, whether such a reason could account for the use of it so early as the days of Catullus.

(153) *Not.* 103.

(154) Ut pergens in *Britannias* et libentissime paratus eram, quasi ad patriam et parentes; non id solum, sed eram (paratus) usque Gallias visitare fratres, et ut viderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei." *Conf. p.* 17. Ware's *ed.*

(155) "Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres: quarum unam incolunt Belgæ; aliam Aquitani; tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua *Celtæ*, nostra *Galli*, appellantur. *Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus, inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis* Garumna flumen, a *Belgis* Matrona et Sequana dividit.—Helvetii—*reliquos Gallos* virtute præcedunt—Eorum una pars, quam *Gallos* obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano: continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum: attingit etiam a Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum—*Belgæ ab extremis Galliæ finibus oriuntur* (therefore not in the real *Gallia*); pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni." (*De bello Gallico; L.* 1. §. 1.)

(156) "Maledictis *Britannis* in *Gallias* abiit. Sigebert, *Chronic.* and M. Florilegus ad A. D. 561. See Usher *Pr. p.* 533.

(157) Vir—vendidit eum in *Galliam*—Suscipientes ergo B. Patricium duxerunt eum in navi in *terram suam:* qui cum navigare coepissent, fuit illis ventus contrarius multis diebus—venit cum *Gallis* post dies duodecim ad *Brotgalum.* Probus, *L.* 1. *capp.* 13. 14. The words *terram suam*, refer not to the sailors' country but to that of St. Patrick; for, a few lines before an Angel is stated to have said to him; "Vade ad hæreditatem tuam, de qua venisti." This passage of Probus is made to refer to our saint's return from a third captivity, of which I do not pretend to guarantee the truth. But the genuine account given by St. Patrick himself, and by Probus elsewhere, of his return from his first and, I believe, only captivity in Ireland, furnishes an invincible proof that he was a native of the country generally called Gaul. See below, *Chap.* IV. §. VII. VIII.

§. XVI. Although St. Patrick wished to see his

relatives and friends in his native country, yet he tells us that his reason for not going to visit them was, that he durst not absent himself from Ireland, lest he might lose the fruit of his labours and become guilty in the sight of God. (158) Had he been a native of Kilpatrick or of any part of the West of Great Britain, (those who would fain bring him from that country have never looked for other parts of it on this question) might he not have ventured to cross the channel, and spend some little time with his family, which, including his return, would have taken up but a few days? Or could he have said that, in consequence of his mission in Ireland, he was under the necesssity of not seeing any of his relatives? (159) Surely had it been inconvenient for St. Patrick to quit Ireland for even a few days, those relatives, who were certainly respectable people, would not have hesitated to take a trip across the channel to pay him a visit, which would have so highly gratified him. Just before the words now quoted he talks of the children of God acquired, through his ministry, in the *extremity of the world*. (160) A man born in the continent might naturally speak in that manner; but it is difficult to believe, that a person, who was himself one of the *ultimi Britanni*, and whose country was so very near Ireland, could have made use of such an expression.

Considering all that has been said hitherto I should hope, that no petty quibbles will be resorted to in opposition to such a mass of evidence. Some one might perhaps object that, as Boulogne, where St. Patrick's family resided at the time he was made captive, was in the territory of the Morini, he should have designated his country rather by this name than by that of Britain. But have we not seen from Pliny, that the Britanni were in the immediate neighbourhood of Boulogne? We have also seen, that the district of Ponthieu was in that Britain.

St. Patrick tells us, that his family lived in the district of Tabernia, or Tarvenna, and yet he calls his country *Britain*, inasmuch as under that name the minor districts were included, in the same manner as our counties are comprized under the general name of the province. It must also be recollected, that the name *Morini* was rather a surname, signifying *maritime people*, than the proper name of a nation or territory. And in fact we do not find any particular name for their territory, such as *Morina*, *Morinia*, or *Morinium;* and it is clear, that they were called *Morini* for no other reason than that they inhabited part of the coast of Belgic Britain. Should it be said, that this Belgic Britain is but seldom alluded to by ancient writers, I answer first, that the country of the Belgæ was very imperfectly known to the Romans during the golden days of their literature. (161) Next it may be observed that, having begun to lose its old name soon after the settlement of the Franks, it is no wonder that there should be few such allusions to it by later writers, when treating of the tracts, which it comprized. We have, however, seen, that it has been not only alluded to but expressly mentioned oftener than has been imagined; and I hope that to the authorities and arguments, which may be collected from other quarters relative to Belgic Britain, the writings of St. Patrick, and some of our Irish documents will in future be added as serving to throw great light on the ancient state of a country, whose antiquities have been too much neglected.

(158) "Scit Deus quod ego valde optabam, sed alligatus Spiritu, qui mihi protestatur; si hoc fecero, ut futurum reum me esse designat; et timeo perdere laborem quem ego inchoavi." *Confes. p.* 17.

(159) "Numquid sine Deo, vel secundum carnem Hiberione veni? Quis me compulit, alligatus Spiritu *ut non videam aliquem de cognatione mea?*" (*Ep. cont. Corotic.*) See some other

proofs of St. Patrick's having been a native of the Continent below, *Chap.* IV. §. XIX.

(160) " Filiorum Dei quos nuper adquisivit in *ultimis terræ* per exhortationem parvitatis nostræ." (*Ib.*) And in the beginning of the Confession he speaks of the *ultimum terræ*, where he was among foreigners.

(161) Cæsar speaking of the Belgæ has ; " A cultu atque humanitate Provinciæ longissime absunt ; *minimeque ad eos mercatores sæpe commeant.*" (*De bello Gall. L.* 1. §. 1.)

§. XVII. Before concluding this chapter, it becomes necessary to enter into an inquiry concerning our saint's family and connexions, in which I shall endeavour to be as brief as possible, notwithstanding the many idle stories, that we find in some of those writings called his Lives, relative to his kindred. He was, as he himself informs us, of a respectable family and of that class of citizens, who were entitled to hold municipal offices ; (162) a privilege, which in the Roman empire was annexed to estated men, who alone formed the municipality or *Curia*, whence the members of it were called *Curiales* or *Decuriones*. (163) Elsewhere he says that his father was Calpornius a deacon, and son of Potitus who had been a priest. (164) It may perhaps be thought, that their having been ecclesiastics cannot be easily reconciled with their rank as Decurions, whereas, since the time of Constantine the great, laws had been enacted prohibiting such persons from entering into holy orders and subjecting them to penalties in case they did ; upon the principle that both situations were incompatible, as the Decurions were bound to attend to the public and civic duties, while the clergy, in virtue of their profession, were exempt from that burden ; so that, in case of Decurions becoming church-men, the whole weight of those duties would have fallen upon those, who might still remain laymen. But it is well known, that these laws were often either not enforced, or modified at various times by succeeding emperors, (165) until, to

come to the period about which St. Patrick was born, Theodosius the first exempted from the penalties all such Decurions as had been ordained before A. D. 388; and, with regard to such as might be ordained afterwards, established the rule, that they should either provide proper substitutes to serve in their stead, or give up their estates to the Curia at their ordination. (166) To this last condition I am inclined to think that St. Patrick alluded, where he says, that he *sold his nobility*; (167) inasmuch as, coming under that regulation, he forfeited his estate for the purpose of becoming a clergyman. His family was very probably of Roman origin. Whether the names of his grand-father, father, and of himself, being purely Latin, should be considered as indicative of Roman extraction, I will not undertake to decide; for it might be answered, that the provincial subjects of Rome did not unfrequently assume Latin names. But in his letter against Coroticus he seems to speak of the Romans as his fellow citizens, (168) and in the old catalogue of celebrated saints in Ireland the bishops of the first order, who were in St. Patrick's time, are stated to have been Romans, (169) &c. By placing the Romans before those of other nations it was probably meant, that St. Patrick was a Roman, that is, of a Roman family settled in Belgic Britain.

Be this as it may, his mother was, according to all the old Irish writers on the subject, (170) a native of some part of the Gauls. By some she is called *Conches* or *Conques*, by others *Conchessa*, and is said to have been the daughter of Oemuis, or, as he is variously named, Ocbasius, or Secbasius. (171) There is a sort of tradition that she was a near relative of the great St. Martin of Tours, either his sister, or, what is less improbable, a niece of his. I have not been able to find any sufficient authority for it, and it seems to be founded on a mistake, in consequence of its having been said that St. Patrick, after his release from captivity, spent some time with St. Mar-

tin at Tours. Hence a conclusion was drawn, that there was some family connexion between them; and as that connexion could not have been in the paternal line, St. Patrick's father and grandfather having been always spoken of as Britons, while St. Martin was known to have been a native of Pannonia, it was inferred that the relationship must have been on the side of his mother. Yet in Fiech's hymn there is not a word about it, notwithstanding the degree of respectability, which it might have been supposed to add to the history of our saint; nor does Probus mention it, although he states that St. Patrick remained four years with St. Martin, and more than once speaks of Conchessa, or, as he calls her, Concessa. The authors of the Lives, called second, third, and fourth, are equally silent on this subject. St. Patrick does not give the least hint as to such a relationship, although he found himself under the necessity of showing, that he was respectably connected. (172) Add, that there is no ground for supposing, that there were any brothers or sisters of St. Martin residing in Gaul. Neither Sulpicius Severus, nor Paulinus, nor any of St. Martin's biographers have, as far as I could discover, made mention of them, nor does it appear that any member of his family, which was settled at Pavia, followed him to that country. We are told that, after he quitted the army, he went to Italy to see his parents, who were pagans, and that he exerted himself to bring them over to the Christian faith. The mother was converted, but his father remained obstinate. (173) Nothing is said of brothers or sisters of his, nor of any relative going with him on his return to Gaul.

(162) "Ingenuus fui secundum carnem; Decorione patre nascor. Vendidi enim nobilitatem meam." (*Ep. cont. Corot.*) For *Decorione* we are to read *Decurione; i. e. De Curia.*

(163) See Bingham, *Orig. Eccles. Book* IV. *ch.* 4. The name and rank are still kept up in many cities of Italy; and to be a

Decurione is considered as a proof of no ordinary nobility. I believe it would be difficult for the sticklers for St. Patrick's birth in North Britain to find a Curia or Decurions in Kilpatrick, or any place near it, in the fourth century.

(164) "Patrem habui Calpornium diaconem, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri." (*Confess. p.* 1.) Probus says the same; *L.* 1. *cap.* 1. In Fiech's hymn even his great grandfather is mentioned under the name of *Odissius.*

(165) Bingham *ib. B.* V. *ch.* 3. Tillemont, *Mém. Tom.* X. *p.* 207.

(166) *Cod. Theod. Lib.* 12. *Tit.* 1. *de Decur. leg.* 121-123.

(167) Above *Not.* 162.

(168) "Non dico civibus meis neque civibus sanctorum Romanorum, sed civibus dæmoniorum."

(169) "Primus ordo catholicorum sanctorum erat in tempore *Patricii.*—Hi omnes episcopi de *Romanis*, Francis," &c.—See Usher *p.* 913.

(170) Usher, *p.* 822.

(171) See Usher *ib.* and Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 224.

(172) Above *Not.* 162.

(173) Sulpic. Sever. *De vita B. Martini; cap.* 4.

§. XVIII. Still more unfounded are the stories concerning St. Patrick's sisters, who are said to have been with him in Ireland, and their numberless children. Part of this stuff is given by Usher; (174) but Colgan has collected the whole of it in a large dissertation, (175) to which I refer those, who may have a taste for such reading. Who could swallow such fables as, *ex. c.* that Tigris or Tigridia, one of those pretended sisters, had seventeen sons who all became bishops, priests, or monks, and five daughters nuns; (176) or this other, that Darerca another sister had also seventeen sons, all *bishops*, and only two daughters nuns? (177) And here arise mighty controversies; for some of Darerca's sons are ascribed by certain writers to Tigridia, and some others to Liemania. Lupita another sister is said to have remained a virgin, although one of our old genealogists has exhibited her as a mother. Then comes

another sister Cinnenum, or, as others have called her, Richella, for whom also Colgan has endeavoured to make out a number of sons, that became bishops, priests, or deacons. And, what is no less ridiculous, among the names of all these sons we find those of persons, who lived at various periods, and who, as Colgan himself is forced to acknowledge, were Irishmen both by father and mother's side; such as Kieran, Brendan, Loarn, Lurach, Columb, Maccarthen, and others. Darerca, according to those notable accounts, was twice married; first to one Conis a Briton, and afterwards to Restitutus a *Lombard!!!* Yet, not to be too severe, instead of *Lombard* we might read *a bard* or *son of a bard;* for in those stories, as given in Irish, Restitutus is called *Huabaird.* The name *Restitutus,* however, is rather an odd one for an Irish bard. On the whole it is not to be wondered at, that Tillemont has rejected all this nonsense concerning our saint's relatives said to have been with him in Ireland; for St. Patrick himself has plainly told us, that there were no such persons with him at the time he wrote his Epistle against Coroticus. (178) His anxious wish to see his relatives (179) in the continent indicates that he could not enjoy any such comfort in Ireland. The very ancient practice of designating religious women by the name of *sisters* was, in all probability, the cause of mistaking some pious ladies, who lived in or about St. Patrick's time, for real sisters of his. Besides, there is a passage of the Confession, which might have helped to strengthen this mistake. Speaking of the number of converts made through his own and the exertions of others, he says, that he does not know the number of those, *who are born of our kind or generation,* except the widows and the continent. (180) But it is plain from the whole context, that he alludes to a spiritual not a carnal generation; and indeed it would have been strange, that, had he any married sisters along with him, he could have been ignorant of the number of their children.

That the holy females, said to have been St. Patrick's sisters, did really exist, there can be no doubt. Darerca is mentioned in our Irish annals as having died A. D. 518. (181) Now who will believe that St Patrick, who in the year 432 was about 45 years of age, could have had a sister, that lived until the year 518? As to Liemania, Colgan after many inquiries found himself forced to conclude, that she was the same as Darerca, and has endeavoured to account for her having two names. (182) Cinnenum, that is, Cinne-noem or *holy Cinne*, was undoubtedly the saint Cinne or Cinnia, whose Acts are given by Colgan at 1st February. She lived in the nunnery of Druimdubhain (Co. Tyrone) about A. D. 480. Being of royal parentage she was also called *Ricinne* or *Richinne* i. e. royal Cinne. From *Richinne* was formed the name *Richella*. There remain still Lupita and Tigridia, both of whom are spoken of as weaving and preparing linen cloth for religious purposes. (183) Although Lupita's memory was famous at Armagh, where she was buried, (184) yet we are not bound to believe Fiech's Scholiast, when he tells us that, being a sister of St. Patrick, she was brought captive together with him to Ireland (185) Nor are we to listen to some writers, who have added Tigris or Tigridia as having been joined with them in that same captivity. For, not to repeat former observations, it is scarcely to be supposed that St. Patrick, who describes in a very feeling manner his own captivity, would have been totally silent concerning that of a sister or sisters of his, had they been partners of his misfortune. He mentions indeed the servitude of some pious women, who were persecuted for their faith, (186) and hence probably the origin of these fables.

(174) *Pr. p.* 824. *seqq.* (175) *Tr. Th. p.* 224. *seqq.*
(176) Jocelin, *cap.* 50. (177) *Tr. Th. p.* 227.
(178) See above *Not.* 159. That letter was written many

years after St. Patrick had commenced his mission in Ireland. See below *Chap.* VI. §. x.

(179) Above *Not.* 154. As St. Patrick was far advanced in life at the time he wrote the Confession, it seems more probable that the term *parentes*, in the passage referred to, is to be understood not of *parents* in the English sense of the word, but of *relatives*. This acceptation of *parentes* had crept into use as far back as the time of St. Jerome; and hence the Italian *parenti* and the French *parens*.

(180) "Omnes virgines Dei ita hoc faciunt, non sponte patrum earum, sed persecutionem patiantur—et nihilominus *plus augetur numerus*, et de genere nostro qui ibi nati sunt *nescimus numerum* eorum, præter viduas et continentes. Sed et illæ maxime laborant," &c. *p.* 16.

(181) "Quies Dærercæ, quæ Moninne nominata est." Usher, *Pr.* *p.* 826. The 4 Masters *ap.* Colgan, *AA. SS.* *p.* 190. have A. D. 517, which year, considering their mode of computation, is the same as Usher's A. 518. He has very properly made this Darerca the same as the one, reported to have been St. Patrick's sister. Colgan has fruitlessly laboured to distinguish them, *AA. SS. ad* 22 *Mart.* which day he assigns for her festival, reserving the sixth of July for another Darerca. Marian Gorman at 22 *Mart.* calls her a virgin. See *AA. SS. p.* 719.

(182) *AA. SS. p.* 718.

(183) "Lupita, Tigrida—textrices et sacrorum linteorum erant confectrices." *Tripart. L.* 3. *c.* 98.

(184) Usher *p.* 824.

(185) Probus calls the captive sister *Mila*; *L.* 1. *c.* 12. He also mentions a brother of his named Ruethi, as also made captive at the same time. But, as Colgan remarks, neither Mila nor Ruethi occur in any of the other accounts of our saint; and the passage of Probus, in which those persons are spoken of, bears evident marks of interpolation.

(186) "Sed et illæ maxime laborant quæ *servitio detinentur*, usque ad terrores et minas assidue perseverant." *Confes. p.* 16.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the year of St. Patrick's birth—That of his captivity and first arrival in Ireland—Names or surnames given to him, and his proceedings during his captivity—Return to his country—His studies at Tours—The vision, in which he was invited to Ireland—His transactions with St. German of Auxerre—Also in an island, most probably Lerins—Sent to Rome by St. German—Appointed by Pope Celestine assistant to Palladius—Sets out for Ireland—Consecrated bishop somewhere in the N. W. of Gaul—Of some companions of St. Patrick.

SECT. I.

HAVING endeavoured to clear up the account of St. Patrick's country and connexions, we must now proceed to treat of himself in person. The variety of opinions concerning the year of his birth, and the number of years that he lived, under which are included many other questions relative to the chronological arrangement of his transactions, renders such an inquiry exceedingly irksome, and induces a necessity of examining several hypotheses on these subjects, some of which have been rather generally received.

Usher laid down two chronological positions, upon which he built his whole system; one, that St. Patrick lived full 120 years, and the other, that he died A. D. 493. Then having found, that Florence of Worcester in his Chronicle had assigned St. Patrick's birth to A. D. 372, he followed him in this point, as said year answered his purpose very well. (1) Colgan agrees with Usher as to the saint's death in 493, but places his birth in 373, and indeed on the 5th of April, whence he concludes that St. Patrick

died in the 120th year of his age. His argument for differing from Usher is strangely incorrect. From a tradition that St. Patrick was born on a Wednesday, joined with there being in the Irish calendars a festival of St. Patrick's baptism assigned to the 5th of April, he drew his inference that St. Patrick was born on a fifth of said month, and therefore A. D. 373, whereas, he says, the fifth of April fell on Wednesday in that year.(2) Now in the first place the festival here mentioned was not in commemoration of the baptism of St. Patrick, but of the first baptism which he performed in Ireland. (3) Next, supposing even that said festival was relative to the baptism of St. Patrick himself, what bewitched Colgan to make him be baptized on the very day he was born? Did he find it any where recorded, that our saint came into the world in an imminent danger of death? Lastly it turns out, unluckily for Colgan's argument, that the 5th of April fell in the year 373 not on Wednesday but on Friday. Harris copied these bad calculations of Colgan, and has added a huge blunder of his own. He says he must differ from Usher as to St. Patrick's birth in 372, and place it in 373, because even according to Usher himself St. Patrick, who died A. D. 493, lived but 120 years. (4) Poor Harris thought that, if St. Patrick's birth had taken place in 372, he should have lived 121 years. But Usher was a better calculator than Harris. He has not pretended to fix the day, or the month in which St. Patrick was born. If indeed he had stated, that the saint was born early in the year any time before the 17th of March, his calculation would have been wrong, and Harris' objection would be of weight. But supposing St. Patrick's birth to have occurred during some part of the year after the 17th of March, it would follow of course that, to make him die after having completed his 120th year, he must have been born in the year 372. Harris calculated worse also than Colgan, who,

as he ought to have remembered, did not give to St. Patrick full 120 years of life, observing that, in his computation, 18 days were wanting to complete that number.

The above mentioned tradition concerning St. Patrick's baptism on a Wednesday is found in an old document called the book of Sligo, in which we read, according to Usher's interpretation, that St. Patrick was born, baptized, and died on a Wednesday. (5) Usher did not attempt to draw any consequences from what is said of the birth and baptism; but he availed himself of the datum that St. Patrick died on a Wednesday, and thence, in opposition to various jarring computations, which he had met with in the course of his reading, concluded that the year of our saint's death was 493, whereas in that year the 17th of March fell on Wednesday. It is indeed true, that not only Jocelin, but, what is of much greater weight, the Annals of Ulster had assigned it to that year, although, as will be seen lower down, it is observed in them, that some documents place it in 458, the year to which it is assigned also by Giraldus Cambrensis and others. The register of Glastonbury, Capgrave, &c. have A. D. 472; the Anglican Martyrology A. D. 481. The greater part of the chroniclers, such as Marianus Scotus, Sigebert, Florence of Worcester, &c. &c. have A. D. 491. Next comes a variety of statements concerning the number of years, which St. Patrick lived, and consequently as to the year in which he was born. Marianus Scotus gives him 92 years, which Baronius thought should be read 82. But Usher alleges the authority of a *MS.* copy of Marianus, in which the saint's age is said to have been 122 years, which number is given also by Sigebert and other chroniclers. The Annals of Boyle, William of Malmesbury, &c. have 111 years, Stanihurst 97. Probus, and the third Life have 132 years; an Anglo-Saxon martyrology quoted by Usher 131, which number agrees with an old

breviary of Rheims, in which St. Patrick is said to have died when he reached his 132d year. Jocelin's computation of 123 years was, I suspect, derived from the 132 of Probus, for which Jocelin, thinking it too great an age, supposed that we ought to read 123; *i. e.* by inverting CXXXII into CXXIII. (6) But 120 became at length the favourite number; for it best agreed with the conformities sought to be found between St. Patrick and Moses. They were said to be like each other in four respects; I. They both heard an angel speaking from a bush. II. They both fasted 40 days and 40 nights. III. Their years were the same, *viz.* 120. IV. Where their mortal remains are is not known. (7) This number of years was also very convenient for the division of the various periods of St. Patrick's life into even numbers. Thus his age began to be divided into four equal periods of 30 years each, two of which were elapsed when he arrived on his mission in Ireland, while the two latter were so arranged as to leave one of them for his active and apostolic proceedings, and the other until his death for retirement. (8) A Scholiast of Nennius divided the 120 years only into three parts of 40 years each, the last of which was that, during which he preached in Ireland. (9) Jocelin, whose numbers were not even, divided his 123 years of our saint's life into three unequal portions of 55, 35, and 33. (10)

(1) Usher *Ind. Chronol.* ad *A.* 372—493, and the pages of *Primordia* there referred to.

(2) *Tr. Th. p.* 234.

(3) Aengussius in his *Festilogium* says at 5 April; "Baptismus magni Patricii *coepit in Hibernia*:" and the Martyrologium Tamlactense has; "Baptisma Patricii *venit ad Hiberniam*. See *Tr. Th. p.* 232.

(4) *Archbishops of Armagh, p.* 7.

(5) *Pr. p.* 882. Usher wrong as to the baptism. See *not.* 3. and below *Chap.* V. §. VI.

(6) See on these subjects Usher, *p.* 879 to 885, and Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 232, *seqq.*

(7) "In quatuor rebus similis fuit Moysi Patricius. I. Angelum de rubo audivit. II. Quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus jejunavit. III. Annos CXX peregit in vita praesenti. IV. Ubi sunt ossa ejus nemo novit." (Tirechan *ap.* Usher, *p.* 887.) Nennius (quoted *ib.*) has; "Quatuor modis aequantur Moyses et Patricius;" and then he goes on stating the same conformities, except his adding, at the second, that they both fasted on a mountain. M. Florilegus *ad A.* 491 has followed Nennius. The compiler of the Tripartite was so pleased with these conformities, that, although elsewhere (*L.* 3. *c.* 103.) he says that St. Patrick died in the 122d year of his age, he has given them to his readers and added some others. (*L.* 2. *c.* 63.)

(8) Usher's Tripartite has; "Anno sexagesimo aetatis suae missus a Celestino Papa ad praedicandum in Hiberniam beatissimus archiepiscopus Patricius venit. Aliis sexaginta annis in Hibernia vixit; triginta annis praedicando et baptizando per diversas Hiberniae provincias; aliis vero triginta annis in suis cellis et in monasteriis *theorice* vixit. (*Pr. p.* 873.) In the same strain we have the following verses taken from a spurious tract called *St. Patrick's Testament*, and translated into Latin.

Ter denis annis versatus in aede Saballi,
Ter denis aliis peragravi laetus Iernam:
Centum et vicenos annos vivendo peregi;
Praesentem ad noctem hanc seclum producitur istud. (See *ib. p.* 887, and Ware, *Opusc. S. P. p.* 109. A division of the first 60 years into thirties is proposed by Usher, *p.* 886.

(9) "Quadragenarius erat quando de captivitate exivit, et per 40 annos didicit et Deo servivit, et 40 praedicavit. In his tribus quadragenariis maxime Patricius aequatur Moysi. Nam sicut Moyses fuit 40 annis in domo Pharaonis velut in captivitate, et 40 in exilio in terra Madian, et 40 in praedicatione," &c. *ap.* Usher, *p.* 886.

(10) Jocelin, *cap.* 191.

§. II. Passing by these whimsical speculations, and certain extravagant hypotheses relative to the year in which St. Patrick was born, (11) let us now endea-

vour to lay down some fixed principles, which may lead us to as near the truth as can be expected upon a subject, that has been so much darkened by conjectures and wild suppositions. Baronius and Petavius were of opinion, that the number CXXXII of Probus (the years of St. Patrick's life) was originally LXXXII, which through a mistake in transcribing was changed into the former by merely substituting C for L. (12) The Bollandists adopted this correction, (13) and undertook, in conformity with it, to determine the times of our saint's birth and death. They assigned the former to A. D. 377, and the latter to 460, thus giving him full 82 years of age. Next they drew up a chronological arrangement of the principal transactions of his life, in which, however, we find more of conjecture and ingenuity than of solid argument founded on historical facts. (14) For instance, who will not smile on finding them gravely calculating the sixty years, vulgarly assigned to St. Patrick's mission in Ireland, from the time that he was about 22 years of age and not long returned from captivity? It is true that, instead of calling the sixty years those of his mission, they give them the name of the sixty years of his *apostolic life*. It would have been better to give up the whole story of the sixty years than to strive to defend it by such quibbling. Equally nugatory are the calculations, by which, with a show of precision, they attempted to fix the times of certain journies of our Apostle to Rome after his mission had commenced; for no such journies ever took place, as will be seen hereafter.

(11) *Ex. c.* that of Stanihurst, who, after some writers, assigns his birth to A. D. 361; and, what is still more absurd, the date, A. D. 336 marked for it in the Annals of Connaught.

(12) See Tillemont, *Mem. &c. Tom.* XVI. *p.* 783. Colgan also thought that the CXXXII was owing to an error of transcription; but he supposed that the original reading was CXXII. *Tr. Th. p.* 232.

(13) *Comment. Praev. ad v. S. Patr. §. 5.*

(14) Porter has followed the Bollandists in their doubts concerning the great number of years commonly allowed for St. Patrick's life, and also in some of their chronological arrangements. *(Compend. Annal. Eccl. R. Hib. p.* 126.)

§. III. To Tillemont, who had studied St. Patrick's tracts with much attention, is due the merit of having been the first to point out a right mode of discovering the true period relative to St. Patrick's life; and, had he been better acquainted with Irish history, he would have made still further progress in clearing up the whole matter. Having taken particular notice of some passages in the Confession, in which St. Patrick speaks of his promotion to the episcopacy, and of his being long known to the people of Ireland, he thence concluded that St. Patrick was consecrated when about 45 years of age. (15) I do not agree with him as to some other points, particularly his bringing St. Patrick to Ireland so late as A. D. 440; whereas there can be no doubt but that his arrival on the mission took place in the year 432. But I acknowledge my obligation to him for having marked out the passages alluded to, from which, when combined with some other circumstances, I think we may come near a consistent chronological account of our saint's life. At the time that St. Patrick had determined on preaching the Gospel in Ireland, and when he was to be ordained bishop for that purpose, a certain person, who had been long a friend of his, reminded him of a fault, which he had committed when a foolish boy scarcely 15 years of age, and not content with such private admonition and with telling him that he was unworthy of the episcopacy, announced said fault to the whole congregation. The saint had confessed this fault before he became a deacon, and in the bitterness of his sorrow communicated it to that person as his friend. Yet notwithstanding his having repented of it, and the

consideration of his having been at the time so very young and uninformed, which, however strict the discipline of the church was with regard to candidates for holy orders, might have served as pleas of indulgence, and actually did so prior to his deaconship, that friend came forward *after thirty years* to expose him in public. Those *thirty years* must be counted from the time the fault had been committed; for St. Patrick meant to show that, after having fallen into it, he had passed many years of an irreproachable life. He adds, that the shame of having been thus denounced for what had happened so long before was near overwhelming him with grief; but that in the night of the same day he was informed in a vision, that the exposure of his name was disapproved of by the Almighty, and was encouraged to keep up his spirits and to persevere in his determination. (16) Another passage pointed out by Tillemont is that, wherein, treating of his pastoral exertions, he says, that God and the people of Ireland know how he behaved himself among them from the time of his *youth*. (17) Now, had he been sixty years old when he undertook his mission, according to the vulgar opinion, or more than between forty and fifty, would he have spoken of himself as then a young man?

(15) *Memoires, &c. Tom.* XVI. *S. Patrice; Art.* 2. and *Notes.*

(16) See *Confess. p.* 10, 11, 12. Out of all this affecting narrative, the substance only of which I have given, I shall quote but his return of thanks to God for his having comforted him and encouraged him not to desist from his purpose; "Idcirco gratias ago ei, qui me in omnibus confortavit, ut *non me impediret a profectione* quam statueram, et de meo quoque opere, *quod a Christo didiceram.*" *p.* 11.

(17) Vos scitis et Deus, qualiter apud vos conversatus sum a *juventute mea*, et fide veritatis et in sinceritate cordis." *Ib. p.* 18.

§. IV. Following what has been now stated St. Patrick was 45 years old, or perhaps only in his 45th

year when he was consecrated bishop. His consecration must, as will be shown, have taken place either in the year 432 or towards the latter end of 431. Thus then we may assign his birth to A. D. 387. (18) This leads us to the discovery of the time of his captivity, which, as he tells us, happened when he was about sixteen years of age, (19) and consequently some time, and perhaps late, in the year 403. This year formed part of a period much spoken of in Irish history. At that time the renowned Niell Naoigiallach or Niell of the nine hostages, king of Ireland, after having ravaged the coasts of G. Britain was plundering the maritime districts of the Gauls, until he was killed by a countryman of his own in the year 404 or 405, and, what comes very much to our purpose, near the *Portus Iccius*, and therefore not far from Boulogne. (20) Keating, who, as we have seen, (21) makes Armorica the scene of St. Patrick's captivity, assigns it to the expedition of this Niell. Having given a quotation from a *MS.* in which St. Patrick is said to have been brought to Ireland during the reign of Niell, who plundered Britain, England, and Gaul, he subjoins; "It is more than probable that, when this Irish prince had finished his design upon the kingdom of Wales, he carried his arms in a fleet to France——and from thence he led St. Patrick—into captivity." (22) I find in Keating but one expedition of Niell to the coasts of Gaul, during which he says in another place (23) that St. Patrick and 200 of the noblest youth were brought away. Nor has O'Flaherty more than one expedition of his to that country; so that, how many soever might have been his or the expeditions of other Irish chiefs against the maritime parts of G. Britain, (24) this against Gaul must have been the one in which St. Patrick was made captive. Consequently this event occurred in the latter end of Niell Naoigiallach's reign and not so early as the ninth year of it, as stated in the passage above referred to, which has

been quoted by Keating. (25) For we have no authority for his having visited Gaul at any time until the period already given, and which is so clearly marked in Irish history. Our saint's captivity may then be safely assigned to A. D. 403, and to a time not long prior to Niell's death. Thus the dates of his birth and captivity, considering the circumstances now mentioned, help to confirm each other, and combined with his age at consecration authorize us to place his birth in the year 387.

(18) It is remarkable, that the 17th of March fell on Wednesday in the year 387. This will help us to understand the drift of the passage from the book of Sligo as to its assigning St. Patrick's birth to a Wednesday. According to the usual style of the martyrologies the 17th of March used to be marked as the *Natale* or *Natalis* of St. Patrick, that is, the day of his heavenly birth or first appearance in heaven. This manner of speaking not being understood by some persons gave rise to a notion that he was born, in this world, on that day, in the same manner as it caused the mistake of those, who believed that Scotland or Ireland was his country. (See Usher, *p.* 820 and *Tr. Th. p.* 221). On the other hand the Irish Calendars and Annals placed his death, or *requies* on that day; and hence the 17th of March was considered as the anniversary of his birth as well as death. Now assigning his birth to A. D. 387 we have the Wednesday sought for. Usher knowing that it would not answer for his year 372 overlooked the matter. Nor would it do for Colgan's 373; for in neither of these years did March 17 fall on a Wednesday.

(19) "Annorum eram tunc fere sedecim". *Conf. p.* 1.

(20) Colgan writes; (*Tr. Th. p.* 449.) "Niellus Naoigiallacha —anno imperii 27. et Christi 405, occubuit juxta *Portum Iccium* in Gallia, a quodam sicario insidiatore e sua gente, nempe Eochodio filio Ennii Kenselaich interfectus." I suspect that Niell's death took place rather in the year 404; for it was in 405, according to Colgan *(ib)*. and O'Flaherty *(Ogygia, p.* 413) that Dathias (Dathy) his successor ascended the throne; and it is probable, that some delay as to his being recognized king occurred in consequence of Niell's having fallen far from his own country, and

of the time requisite for the proceedings in appointing a new sovereign. (See Ware, *Antiq. Chap.* X. Harris' *ed.)* O'Flaherty relating the same circumstance adds, that it happened near the Loire, and that Neill was killed by a poisoned arrow shot across that river; "Niellus rex dum Aremoricam bello premeret ab Achaio (Eochaid) filio Ennii Kennsalii (Eana Kinselagh) rege Lageniae ob veteres inimicitias venenata sagitta *trans Ligerim* jacta *propter mare Ictium* confossus est." *(Ogyg. p.* 403.) Lynch *(Cambr. Evers. p.* 299.) had also mentioned the Loire, but omitted other circumstances given by O'Flaherty, whose account of the place, where the transactions occurred, is quite contradictory. For surely the Loire was never supposed to be near the part of the sea called *Ictium*, and which got that name from being near the Portus Iccius or Ictius, of which above; *Chap.* III. §. IX. O'Flaherty quotes Usher to show, that the *Mare Iccium* extended as far as the Loire. But Usher says no such thing; what he has (*Pr. p.* 8.) is this; "Est autem mare *Icht* (Iccium) ut ex Albei etiam et Declani Vitis didicimus, illud quod Galliam et Britanniam interfluit." This is the same as if he had told us that it is the part of the sea, which we now call the streights of Dover. Nor could Usher or any one moderately skilled in geography speak of the sea near the Loire as flowing between Gaul and G. Britain. What puzzled O'Flaherty was, that he wished to reconcile what he read in Lynch about the Loire with what Colgan and the old documents have about Niell having been killed near the *Portus Iccius*. The right way to reconcile those passages would have been to observe, that Lynch was mistaken as to the Loire, *Ligeris*, instead of which he should have written *Liana*, Liane, the small river that falls into the sea below Boulogne. Across that river a man might have shot an arrow; but where could a person be found strong enough to make an arrow fly from one side to the other of the Loire, near where it joins the ocean? While I am on the subject of Niell Naoigiallach I cannot but express my astonishment, that Usher has spoken of him as reigning in the year 360 *(Ind. Chron.)* and that he followed the wretched authority of his Tripartite, according to which Niell's reign would have commenced A. D. 352. (See *Pr. p.* 587.) Usher knew that Niell reigned only about 27 years *(ib.)*; and consequently, according to his computation, he should have died about A. 479, a date quite repugnant with Irish history, and with

the circumstance, that between the reign of Niell and his son Leogaire there intervened only about 24 years, during which was the reign of Dathy. Now Usher himself places the commencement of Leogaire's reign A. D. 427. It is odd, that he paid attention to a work, which in the very same passage brings St. Patrick a captive to Ireland in the first year of the emperor Julian; *i. e.* A. 361.

(21) *Chap.* III. §. IX.

(22) *Hist. of Ireland; B.* 1. *p.* 156. Soon after he mentions these circumstances as evident.

(23) *Ib. p.* 149.

(24) See Usher *p.* 828. Fiech's Scholiast speaks of seven sons of a Factmudius a British king, who ravaging Armorica killed St. Patrick's father and made himself a prisoner. Probus has a similar story (*L.* 1. *c.* 12) but calls that king Rethmitus, and adds that the saint's mother was also killed on that occasion. Now it is clear from the *Confession p.* 9. that his parents were still alive after his return from captivity. As to the names *Factmudius*, *Rethmitus*, *Fectmacius*, &c. it is probable that they were latinized corruptions of the Irish word *Fommaire* or *Fammaire* a pirate, or depredator at sea. (See Lynch's *Life of St. Patrick; chap.* 8.) As St. Patrick was known to have been taken and brought to Ireland by persons of that description, it may be conjectured, that some Irish story-teller, wishing to save the honour of his country, strove to throw the blame of that act on the Britons, and thus gave occasion to what has been said about the seven sons of king Factmudius. St. Patrick himself gives us to understand in his letter against Coroticus, that he was taken by people from Ireland; "Numquid piam misericordiam ago erga *gentem illam, quae me aliquando ceperunt*, &c.?

(25) The passage quoted by Usher from his Tripartite, of which above *Not.* 20. has this same ninth year of Niell's reign as that, in which St. Patrick was made captive. But the author thought that this happened in G. Britain. His ignorance of the history of those times was so great, that he identified the first year of the emperor Julian with the 9th of Niell Naoigiallach.

§. v. According to Fiech's hymn his first name was *Succat*. This would have been an odd name for

the son of a Calpornius and the grandson of a Potitus. I do not mean to deny, that such a name was applied to our saint, not however as his original one but as a sort of surname after the commencement of his mission. Probus, who writes it *Sochet*, seems to speak of it as an additional name. (26) Stanihurst has *Suchar* or *Socher*. (27) If this be the true reading, we might suppose that it was given to St. Patrick as an epithet to indicate his meekness; for *Socair* in Irish means *mildness*, *ease*, and also *plain*, *smooth*, &c. If the name was *Succat*, I know not how to account for it better than by deriving it from *Succa*, a word signifying, in low Latinity, a linen garment worn in public by bishops. (28) In this hypothesis St. Patrick might have been styled the *Succat*, as a person wearing a *succa*, a circumstance quite new to the Irish in his time. He never speaks of himself under any other name than *Patricius*. Were we to believe Fiech's Scholiast, he got this name from Pope Celestine, when he was ordained bishop; although, as will be seen below, Celestine was not the person who ordained him. This is like the other story of his having been called *Magonius* by St. German of Auxerre. (29)

(26) "Sanctus Patricius, qui et *Sochet* vocabatur." Probus *L.* 1. *c.* 1. In the second Life (*cap.* 12) it is written *Succet*; and in the Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 17.) *Suchat*.

(27) *De Vita S. Patricii*; *Lib.* 1. (28) Ducange at *Succa*.

(29) These trifles are summed up by Fiech's Scholiast in the following words; "*Succat* primum nomen ejus in baptismo a parentibus suis: *Cathraige* nomen ei inditum servitutis tempore in Hibernia; *Magonius*, i. e. magis agens quam caeteri monachi, nomen ejus tempore discipulatus apud Germanum: *Patricius* vero vocatus tempore suae ordinationis; et Celestinus Petri comorbanus sive successor est qui hoc ei nomen indidit." *Schol.* 6. We find similar stories in the second Life and in the Tripartite, *locc. citt.* *Not.* 26.

§. VI. On being brought to Ireland St. Patrick was obliged, according to some accounts, to serve four different families, (30) or, as others say, four brothers; (31) from which circumstance, we are told, he got the surname of *Cothraige* or *Cathraige*. (32) One of those four masters, whether a brother of the others or not, perceiving that he was faithful and diligent, and wishing to have him to himself, purchased him from his partners. This man's name was Milcho, or Miliac. He lived in that part of Dalaradia, which is now comprized within the county of Antrim. Some say that he was a prince; others that he was a *magus*, that is, invested with a religious function; and others represent him only as a rich man. (33) St. Patrick calls his master merely a *man*, (34) without adding any thing concerning his situation in life. With that profound humility, which every line written by this truly great saint breathes, he tells us that he had been very negligent and careless about religion when a boy; but that, when finding himself in his miserable state of slavery, God opened his eyes and brought him to a sense of his duty and a sincere sorrow for his former transgressions. (35) His occupation was to tend sheep, (36) an employment that allowed him sufficient leisure for attending to his devotional practices, in which he was so assiduous that he would at times repeat a hundred prayers during the day and nearly as many more at night; and that whether on a mountain or in a forest, amidst snow, frost, or rain, he used to rise before day-light for the purpose of praying; so lively was his faith, charity, and fear of God, and so fervently did he feel the operation of the Holy Spirit. (37) To this recital of St. Patrick's religious pursuits Probus has added, that he used also frequently to peruse the psalms and hymns, (38) as if indeed he could have found books containing them in the North of Ireland at that period, or, when suddenly made a prisoner, had time to provide himself with

religious tracts, or, while still a careless boy, was anxious about them.

(30) Fiech's hymn, *Stroph.* 3. Second Life, *cap.* 12.

(31) 4th Life, *cap.* 15.

(32) Fiech's hymn, *ib.* The Tripartite has; (*L.* 1 *cap.* 17.) "*Cothraige*, quod quatuor familias denotat, appellatus est, quia quatuor familiis debebat inservire." Colgan observes that, to spell it correctly, it should be *Ceothir-tegh*, from *Ceothir*, four, and *tegh*, a house. (*Tr. Th. p.* 17.)

(33) Probus, who says nothing about the four families, relates that St. Patrick was on his arrival in Ireland *apud quemdam gentilem immitem regem in servitute detentus.* (*L.* 1. *c.* 2.) Jocelin calls his master a petty king; "regulo paganissimo, Milchoni nomine, in aquilonari parte ejusdem insulae principanti in servitutem venditur." (*cap.* 13.) Fiech's Scholiast has; "Est hic Michul sive Milchuo, filius Hua Buani, rex aquilonaris Dal-aradiae." (*Schol.* 8.) Tirechan writes; "Cothirthiae (Patricius) servivit quatuor domibus *magorum*; et empsit illum unus ex eis, cui nomen erat Miliac Mac-Cuboin *magus*;" (*ap.* Usher *p.* 829.) In the second Life we are told, that the saint "in regionem Dallaraidi devectus—quatuor *divitibus* cum omni cordis devotione servivit. Videns autem unus eorum, nomine *Miliuc*, quod esset servus fidelis, emit eum ab aliis ut sibi soli serviret." (*cap.* 12.) Concerning Dal-aradia see more below; *Chap.* V. §. III.

(34) "Intermisi *hominem*, cum quo fueram sex annis." *Conf. p.* 6.

(35) "Deum verum ignorabam—Et ibi (in Ireland) Dominus aperuit sensum incredulitatis meae, ut vel sero rememorarem delicta mea, et ut converterer toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum, qui respexit humilitatem meam, et misertus est adolescentiae et ignorantiae meae, et custodivit me antequam scirem eum," &c. *Confess. p.* 1, 2. And *p.* 5. "Scio illud certissime, quia utique, priusquam humiliarer, ego eram velut lapis qui jacet in luto profundo; et venit qui potens est, et in sua misericordia sustulit me." From these passages the reader may judge what opinion is to be formed concerning the miracles attributed by Jocelin and others to St. Patrick when a boy, of which, however, neither Fiech's hymn, nor the Scholiast, nor Probus make any mention.

(36) Jocelin (*cap.* 13.) and the Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 18.) have changed the sheep into hogs; and Harris with wonderful sagacity makes St. Patrick write, that his constant business was to *feed the hogs*, although even Jocelin says only, that the saint was entrusted with the care of a drove of hogs; "Patricius porcorum *custodiae* mancipatur;" that is, while those animals were roving and feeding on acorns or whatever else might fall in their way through the forests, mountains, &c. Harris, who was probably unacquainted with this practice, which is so general to this day on the continent, thought the saint was employed in feeding them in troughs. Had that been the case, he would have had but little time for the prayers, which he was so constant in repeating. What makes Harris' blunder still worse is, that he is there striving to put in English St. Patrick's own words, among which we find mentioned not *hogs* but *sheep*. I am sorry that Lynch (*Hist. of S. P. ch.* 10) has copied that wretched translation of Harris. But he had not the *Confession* before him; for, if he had, he would not have translated *pecora* by *hogs*.

(37) "Sed postquam Hiberionem (St. Patrick constantly calls Ireland *Hiberione*) deveneram, quotidie *pecora* pascebam et frequens in die orabam; magis ac magis accedebat amor Dei et timor ipsius, et fides augebatur, et spiritus augebatur, ut in die una usque ad centum orationes, et in nocte prope similiter; ut etiam in silvis et monte manebam, et ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per nivem, per gelu, per pluviam, et nihil mali sentiebam, neque ulla pigritia erat in me—quia tunc in me Spiritus fervebat." *Conf. p.* 6. The mountain here alluded to is said to have been that of Mis, or, as it is called at present, *Sliebh-mis* in Antrim. See Fiech's Scholiast, *No.* 9. and Tripartite, *L.* 1. *c.* 19.

(38) "Frequenter enim psalmos et hymnos ruminabat." (*L.* 1. *c.* 2.) Jocelin goes still further; for he says (*cap.* 12) that St. Patrick, from a very early time of his life, used to read the whole Psalter every day. Compare with *Not.* 35.

§. VII. Passing over some idle stories relative to our saint's proceedings during his servitude, (39) I must remark that there is no foundation for what we read in some of his Lives concerning his having been often favoured at that time with the converse of

an angel Victor, or that it was said Angel who answered to him that the period was arrived for his liberation from captivity. (40) This angel Victor was introduced in consequence of a mistake founded upon what St. Patrick relates concerning a vision, which he had some years later, and in which he thought he saw a man of the name of *Victoricius* as if coming to him from Ireland. For *Victoricius* some read *Victor*, (41) and certain circumstances of two distinct visions were confounded together. St. Patrick indeed tells us, that he was informed in his sleep, that the time of his liberation was arrived, but makes no mention of either an angel or the name of an angel. His account of the whole transaction is very clear. He says, that on a night he heard, while asleep, a voice announcing to him; "Thou fastest well, and soon art to go to thine own country." After a little time he heard again; "Behold, a ship is ready for you." And the ship was not near where he lived, but about 200 miles off, (42) and in a part of Ireland, where he never had been, nor was acquainted with any one. He then betook himself to flight and got off from the man, with whom he had been for *six* years. (43) "And I came," he adds, "in the power of the Lord who directed my course "*towards a good end*, (44) and I was under no ap- "prehension until I arrived at where the ship was. "It was then clearing out, and I called for a passage. "The master of the vessel got angry, and said to me; "Do not pretend to come with us. (45) On hearing "this I retired for the purpose of going to the cabin, "where I had been received as a guest, and while "going thither, I began to pray. But, before I had "finished my prayer, I heard one of the men crying "out with a loud voice after me; Come quickly, for "they are calling you; and immediately I returned. "And they said to me; Come, we receive thee *on* "*faith*; (46) be our friend just as it may be agree-

" able to you. We then set sail, and after *three days* " reached land." (47)

(39) Jocelin (*cap.* 14.) and the Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 20.) have a fable concerning a certain vision of Milcho and its explanation by St. Patrick; and how a time would come when, on his preaching to them, Milcho's two daughters (the Tripartite adds a son of his Guasactus) would become Christians, while Milcho himself would remain in his infidelity. Now it is plain from our saint's own testimony, that neither at that time, nor for many years after, had he the least idea of ever being employed as a missionary in Ireland. See *Conf. p.* 6.

(40) The angel Victor appears in Fiech's hymn as ordering St. Patrick to go beyond sea. The Scholiast adds, that he came to him in the form of a bird. I find the same stuff in the Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 19.) together with the statement, that our saint was accustomed to enjoy daily and familiar conversations with that angel. The second and third Lives follow Fiech's hymn. The fourth has an angel as acting on that occasion, but does not give his name. Jocelin, who was never behind, when opportunities of this kind occurred, has a flowery description of the angel Victor appearing under a human form, and relates part of the conversation. (*cap.* 15.) Probus often mentions an angel as conversing with St. Patrick and directing him how to act, but does not call him by any particular name.

(41) It is worth observing, that the author of the 4th Life, who gives no name to the angel, calls the man, that appeared as if coming from Ireland, not *Victoricius* but *Victor*. (*cap.* 25.) The reverse of this mistake occurs in the second Life, *cap.* 14. where the angel is called *Victoricus*. Of Victoricius more hereafter.

(42) " Ecce navis tua parata est; et non erat prope, sed forte habebat *ducenta* millia passus." (*Conf. p.* 6.) Probus, following the *Confession* nearly word for word, has also *ducenta millia passuum*. (*L.* 1. *c.* 3.) The Tripartite, quoting the Latin text of St. Patrick, has " forte habebat *ducenta* millia passuum." (*L.* 1. *c.* 22) Jocelin, (*cap.* 15.) says, that the place was distant *ducentis millibus passuum*. The third Life has " quasi *ducentis millibus passuum*;" (*cap.* 14.) and the fourth, quoting, in like manner as the Tripartite, from St. Patrick himself, has; " Spatium 200 mille

passuum erat usque ad locum," &c. (*cap.* 21.) Harris, although he affects to follow the *Confession*, omits the distance of the place where the ship was lying, and merely says, that St. Patrick "made all the haste he could to the sea side, and found a ship," &c. thus wishing to make the reader think, that the vessel was within no great distance of where the saint was. He was aware that the circumstance of a ship, destined by Providence for carrying St. Patrick back to his own country, being placed about 200 miles from Antrim, could not be well reconciled with the hypothesis of St. Patrick's being a native of the country now called Scotland, a country so near the Antrim coast that they can be seen from each other, and between which there could not have been wanting frequent communications and opportunities for crossing to either side even in boats. The ship was undoubtedly lying in some part of the South of Ireland, and in a harbour or river convenient for a passage to Gaul.

(13) Probus (*L.* 1. *c.* 3) and the fourth Life (*cap.* 16.) have *seven* years; which must be understood not of seven years complete, but of the saint having been freed in the seventh year. Fiech's hymn, the Tripartite, and other accounts agree as to only six full years. See Usher *p.* 830, and Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 236. In some of those tracts it is said, that there was a law in Ireland, according to which slaves should become free in the seventh year. The Tripartite has; "Gentilis enim ille populus solebat servos septimo servitutis anno manumissos libertate donare, nisi ipsi sponte velint amplius servire." (*L.* 1. *c.* 21.) They tell us, that this was conformable to the practice of the Hebrews; *more Hebraeorum*; (*ib. cap.* 18. Second Life, *cap.* 12. Fourth, *cap.* 16.) But those writers forgot, that the privilege granted in the Mosaic law to slaves, as to their being freed in the seventh year, was relative only to native Hebrews, and was not extended to strangers. (See *Levitic.* XXV. 39—46.) Accordingly St. Patrick was not in the same situation with regard to his Irish master, as a Hebrew servant would have been relatively to his Hebrew master. Did such a law exist among the ancient Irish, it would add to the many arguments adduced by my late learned and valuable friend General Vallancey to prove the oriental origin of the Irish nation. Whether they had such a practice or not, St. Patrick was authorized to escape, as soon as he could, from a state of servitude, into which

he had been forced against his will. Nor was there any necessity for the fable, which the Scholiast, the Tripartite, Jocelin, &c. have concerning the lump of gold found in the ground, wherewith he might pay his ransom. It is strange, that Butler's account of St. Patrick has six months instead of six years.

(14) "Et veni in virtute Domini, qui viam meam *ad bonum* dirigebat." *p.* 7. I doubt whether *bonum* means here *good*, that is, a good end or purpose, or should be taken as the name of a place. The Bollandists, in their edition of the Confession, instead of *bonum* have *Benum*, and with them the whole passage runs thus; In virtute Dei, qui vitam meam dirigebat, veni ad *Benum*." They interpret it the river Boyne. But surely the Boyne is by no means so far from any part of Antrim as 200 miles. I find, however, that Fiech's Scholiast brings St. Patrick in his escape to the Boyne; (*Schol.* 9.) but then, in opposition to the *Confession* and all the authorities quoted above, (*Not.* 42.) he makes St. Patrick travel only 60 miles, or, he adds, as others say, one hundred. If *Benum* be the true reading, which is really very probable, it is not to be understood of the Boyne, the Latin name of which was, according to Ptolemy, *Buvinda*, not *Boandum* as Colgan writes it, or *Boinum* as Usher sometimes does in compliment to modern readers. *Benum* agrees much better with Bantry, the ancient name of which, or rather of the district, or, as now called, the barony, was *Bentraighe*, that is, the *shore of the Ben* (*traigh* shore, Lhuyd and Shaw, *Ir. Dictionary*) so that *Ben*, latinized into *Benum*, was the name of the bay, and *Bentraighe* that of the adjoining territory. Bentraighe is spoken of in the Life of St. Cannera, (*AA. SS. at* 28 *Jan.*) it being the district in which she was born. (See also Smith, *Hist. of Cork*, *vol.* 1. *p.* 39. and Seward at *Bantry*.) Near the bay is a place called *Adragoal* or *Ardgoal*, probably so named from a colony of Gauls that settled there. This circumstance, together with its favourable position, might have made it a resort of Gallic navigators. The distance of about 200 (Roman) miles answers very well, taking a straight line through the central parts of Ireland. Or if *bonum*, as in Ware's edition, was a proper name, it might signify the river now called Bandon (*a* and *o* used indiscriminately, see Baxter at *Bonium*) which falls into the sea at Kinsale, a harbour quite convenient for an intercourse with Gaul. It must however be acknowledged that *Benum* seems to be the

genuine reading; for it is more likely that a transcriber on meeting with *benam*, the meaning of which he did not understand, would have changed it into *bonum*, than that he would write *benum* for *bonum*, a word of obvious and well known import. As to what the Scholiast has about the Boyne on this occasion, he does not say that it was there St. Patrick embarked, but has a story about one Kienan, that sold him to certain sailors, by whom, on Kienan's repenting of what he had done, he was set at liberty; "and afterwards," adds this bungler, "Kienan was baptized by St. Patrick;" thus confounding the time of St. Kienan of Duleek's conversion, which occurred during our Apostle's mission, with that of the escape from captivity.

(45) Probus *L.* 1. *c.* 4. makes the master of the ship say; "Nequaquam tu nobiscum ibis sine naulo;" as if his reason for not giving him a passage was that, as Probus states, St. Patrick had acknowledged he had no money to pay for it. This circumstance is certainly very probable, although the saint himself does not mention it.

(46) "Veni quia *ex fide* recipimus te." *Conf. p.* 7. The expression *ex fide* is probably to be understood of their giving him a passage on his word or credit, and that they would wait for payment until his arrival in Gaul. The saint observes, that those men were Gentiles.

(47) "Protinus navigavimus, et post triduum terram cepimus." This was merely the regular time of a passage with a fair wind from Bantry bay or Kinsale, &c. to any of the ports of Normandy or Britany. These *three days* have puzzled poor Harris, following his preconceived idea that, as St. Patrick was going to his own country, his voyage was directed to the West of Great Britain. Accordingly, to patch up the matter, he tells us that St. Patrick "is said to have had a bad voyage, having been three days on sea." Now Harris' favourite Jocelin says, (*cap.* 17.) that the wind was very fair; "Ventis *ad vota spirantibus*, vela committentes post triduum applicuerunt." See also fourth Life, *cap.* 23. Neither St. Patrick himself nor Probus says any thing about unfavourable winds. The Tripartite indeed (*L.* 1. *c.* 25.) mentions a storm, which, it is plain, was introduced for the purpose of making St. Patrick perform a miracle by quelling it. There is a passage elsewhere in Probus (*L.* 1. *c.* 14.) in which a voyage,

distinct from the one we are now treating of, is mentioned, during part of which the wind was contrary; but that voyage is stated to have lasted twelve days.

§. VIII. That the land, in which they disembarked, was Gallic ground appears not only from all the circumstances, which have been now considered, but likewise from Fiech's hymn and the Scholiast. In the former we read, that crossing the sea he went beyond Albion and remained in Letha. (48) The latter makes the angel say to St. Patrick, that the time was come for his going beyond sea to apply to study, and then places him in Gaul as studying there. (49) In two breviaries of Rheims, one published A. D. 1612, and the other of a more ancient date, it is stated, that the persons, with whom he sailed from Ireland, were merchants from Gaul, and that they brought him to Treguier in Britany. (50) St Patrick was still at a considerable distance from his native place; for he did not reach it until 28 days after, having travelled through a deserted country. (51) While on their way, he and his fellow travellers became destitute of provisions, and were near perishing through want of food. The chief man (52) among them said to him; "Christian, what dost thou say? Thy God is great and all-powerful. Why then canst thou not pray for us, as we are in such danger of famine?" The saint desired them to turn with faith and their whole hearts to the Lord God, and that, as nothing is impossible to him, he may send them food in abundance. And, with the assistance of the Almighty, so it happened. For, behold, a drove of swine appeared full in their view, of which having killed many they stopped for two nights to recover and refresh themselves. They returned the greatest thanks to God, and showed great respect for St. Patrick. They found also some wild honey, and offered him part of it. But one of them said; "this is an offering; thanks to God." On hearing this, the

saint would not taste any thing. (53) From St. Patrick's saying, that he tasted nothing, it does not follow that he abstained from food during the remainder of the journey, and much less that he ate nothing for 20 days, as some story-tellers would have us believe. (54) On the night of that day Satan fell upon him in his sleep like a huge stone, and rendered him powerless. But on his invoking the assistance of Elias he was soon freed from that dreadful pressure. (55) St. Patrick makes mention of no other circumstances, that might have occurred until he reached his native place, which must have been in the year 409 or 410.

(48) Stroph. 5. For *Alpes*, which Colgan's translation has, he tells us himself in a note *ad loc.* that we are to read *Albion* according to an old marginal remark. He has shamefully translated the *Letha* of the hymn by *Latium;* for the author meant a part of Gaul, as appears from his connecting it with the residence of St. German. (About *Letha* or *Llydaw* see above *chap.* III. and *note* 82.) Colgan was not the first, who mistook *Letha* for *Latium.* In the second Life *(cap.* 17.) the voice announcing to St. Patrick his liberation from captivity is made to say, that a ship was ready for him that he might go to *Italy.* The author, or, perhaps, the translator, mistaking *Letha* for *Latium,* thought the text would be better understood by his writing *Italy.* His mistake, however, shows what he had found in older documents and that some part of Gaul was the country, for which the vessel sailed.

(49) *Schol.* 9, 10. As to Jocelin's saying that St. Patrick sailed to Britain, meaning G. Britain, it is sufficient to observe, that he had no foundation for it, and that, as he has frequently done, he adapted his narrative to the opinion that our saint was a native of that country.

(50) "Galliae mercatoribus, qui ipsum advexerunt ad *Trecorensem minoris Britanniae* civitatem." *Ap.* Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 194. In the parallel passage of the other Rheims breviary, *ib. p.* 195, there is an error of the press, *Turonensem* for *Trecorensem.* The error is quite palpable; for the text goes on thus, "*Turonensem minoris Britanniae urbem vectus.*" Now Tours was never

comprized in Britany, nor do ships go up so far the Loire. Colgan's collections are full of such errors, which render very many parts of them exceedingly obscure. It is very probable, that from this tradition of St. Patrick having landed at Treguier was derived what we find in one or two of the Lives concerning his arrival on that occasion in a Britain. The fourth Life has (*cap.* 23.) "Elevato velo, *prospero flatu* ad *Britonicos* sinus pervenerunt." Did the author, when writing *Britonicos* mean to convey the idea that he alluded to Britany? for he uses elsewhere the word *Britannicus*. Or was *Britonicos* the reading, which he had met with in a former document?

(51) "Et viginti octo dies per desertum iter fecimus." *Conf. p.* 7. If Treguier was, which I see no reason for questioning, the harbour where he landed, it will be easily granted that, allowing some necessary halts, that number of days was no more than a reasonable time for a journey on foot thence to Boulogne. According to Probus (*cap.* 9.) St. Patrick preached in various towns on the way, and made many converts. Waving other observations, what towns could he have passed through in a desert? It may be asked how could the coasts of Britany from Treguier upwards and of Normandy, &c. be called a desert? Whoever is but slightly acquainted with the state of Gaul at that period will soon answer the question. The Franks and Saxons had been ravaging those coasts as far back as the latter end of the third century, at which time Carausius was employed in resisting them. (See above *chap.* III. *note* 77.) To the incursions of the Franks, which were repeated for about 150 years before they formed the plan of establishing themselves in Gaul, add that the Vandals, Alans, Suevi, &c. ravaged the whole of the Gauls A. D. 407 and the following years. The civil wars, that came on, augmented the desolation (See Tillemont *Mem. tom.* X. p. 555. Ruinart, *Annal. Franc.* and Gibbon, *Decline and fall of the Roman empire; chap.* 30, 31) and we may calculate, that until about the year 417 the plunderings of that unfortunate country had but little abated. St. Patrick informs us, that many thousands of his countrymen had been made captives and dispersed amidst various nations. (*Conf. p.* 1. 2. In fact his country had suffered most severely. Among the plundered cities Arras and Amiens are specially mentioned. It is then not to be wondered at, that many parts of Gaul re-

mained destitute of inhabitants, and it is probable that, as this journey was performed A. D. 409 or 410, the saint and his fellow travellers preferred taking their course through the most unfrequented tracts, lest they might fall in with some of the ferocious hordes, who were then roaming through various provinces of that country.

(52) St. Patrick designates him by the title of *gubernator*, the same as that which he had given to the head man of the ship, who had at first refused to take him on board. To understand this, it must be recollected, that those fellow travellers of the saint were not sailors, in our acceptation of the word, but merchants, who, according to the general custom of ancient traders, had gone themselves to Ireland to dispose of their goods there, and, after probably having purchased some articles in Ireland, were returning to their homes. The ship, we may easily suppose, was a hired one; but the managers and directors of its course were the merchants themselves. It seems that some of those merchants were from our saint's own native place, whereas he speaks of his journey in such a manner as to insinuate, that he had some companions during the whole way. An account, which occurs here and there concerning St. Patrick having been sold to those merchants, is scarcely worth noticing. From his own narrative it is clear, that they received him as a guest and wished to treat him as a friend.

(53) "Et unus ex illis dixit, hoc *immolatitium* est: Deo gratias. Exinde nihil gustavi." *Conf. p.* 8. From the context it would appear, that *immolatitium* was relative to the honey; as if that man meant to say that he considered it as a libation to his God. The term may be used either for sacrifices or for libations. St. Patrick on this occasion closely adhered to the injunction of St. Paul, who, although he teaches that idols are nothing, and that, without asking questions, it is lawful to eat whatever is sold in the market or laid before us, lays down the following rule; *But if any man shall say: this is sacrificed to idols: eat not of it for his sake that showed it, and for conscience sake; for conscience sake, I say, not thy own, but another's.* (1 *Cor.* X. 28, 29.) Probus has given a strange turn to the fact. He says that our saint's fellow travellers asked him to take some wild honey, *whereas he used not to eat flesh-meat.* (*L.* 1. *c.* 7.) Now in the first place it was the wild honey itself, that the saint refused to taste; and, in the second, supposing even that

what was said to be *immolatitium* was meat; St. Patrick's objection to it was not that it was such, but because it was represented as offered to a false god. From a similar mistatement has arisen, I believe, the fable in the Tripartite *L.* 1. *c.* 32. of how St. Patrick being one day tempted to eat pork hid some under a cask, but, having through supernatural agency repented of what he was about, he threw the meat into water, where it was transformed into fish. Jocelin has the same story *cap.* 23. and adds a droll practice on St. Patrick's day of some bad fasters among our ancestors with regard to what they called *Patrick's fish.* From that time out the saint, they say, became fully determined never to eat flesh-meat. I cannot find any sufficient authority for this statement, and I think that St. Patrick, however he might have observed the rules of such religious communities as he lived with at times, yet during his mission and when preaching the Gospel in various parts of Ireland, followed the rule, given by our Saviour, of eating whatever was laid before him, but without violating the general laws of the Church relative to abstinence. In the Tripartite itself (*L.* 3. *c.* 42.) St. Patrick is stated to have been, on a certain occasion, invited to a great entertainment by a chief named Lonan (somewhere in the now county of Limerick) and, while on the point of partaking of it, to have been teazed by certain fellows calling on him for food, to whom he gave a roasted sheep, which a young man of the name of Nessan and his mother were bringing to Lonan's table. Jocelin (*cap.* 75) makes mention of that entertainment, and of our saint's having taken share of it, but instead of a roasted sheep he makes the saint give those fellows a live ram. He thus gave a twist to the anecdote, lest he should appear to acknowledge that there was flesh-meat on Lonan's table. Amidst all his nonsensical tales Jocelin has displayed no small degree of art in patching them together.

(54) Jocelin, *cap.* 18. Tripart. *L.* 1. *c.* 27. To account for this fable they pretend, that the saint's companions sacrificed part of the swine to their idols. But he says no such thing himself. The honey alone was that, which was called an offering, and that by one man alone. The plain meaning of the words; *exinde nihil gustavi;* is that having, as it seems, eaten of the swine's flesh, and perhaps taken some of the honey, he would not taste any

more of it, nor perhaps any thing else on that occasion, in consequence of what the man had expressed.

(55) Butler was much mistaken in making a great stone really fall upon him. As to the calling on Elias the saint says; "Et dum clamarem *Heliam, Heliam*, viribus meis, ecce splendor solis decidit super me, et statim discussit a me omnem gravitudinem." *Conf. p.* 8. This will, I believe, be admitted to be a sufficient proof, that St. Patrick considered the invocation of saints as commendable and salutary.

§. IX. He then proceeds to relate, that a *few* years after he suffered captivity again. (56) This was a short one, as he was freed from it on the sixtieth night after that, on which he was first in the power of the marauders, (57) who very probably were some of those roving bands of Franks, that made a trade of carrying off prisoners for the purpose of selling them or of getting money for their ransom, and to whom St. Patrick alludes in his letter against Coroticus. (58) In what year this second captivity occurred is, as far as I know, impossible to determine, even setting aside the question, whether St. Patrick wrote *many years*, or *not many*, (59) which latter reading seems to be the correct one. But the phrase *not many years* might be understood of four, five, or six years; so that we are left in the dark as to the precise period of their termination. Whatever was the number of those years, we may safely assume that he did not spend them in idleness, which indeed his piety and fervour would not have allowed him to do. When he returned to his own country from Ireland, he was about 22 years old, an age at which he was fully capable of fixing on a state of life. I am greatly inclined to think that it was not long after, when, having enjoyed for some time the society of his parents and friends, he went to the celebrated monastery or college of St. Martin near Tours for the benefit of his education. The most consistent accounts bring St. Patrick to

Tours soon after his arrival in his own country, and some of them go so far as to make him proceed directly thither from the port where he had landed. This, however, can be easily reconciled with the authentic fact, that he had previously visited his relatives; so that, as he remained with them but a short time, he might, in an abridged mode of writing, be said to have gone forthwith to Tours. (60) He is said to have spent four years there, (61) a time which I find no reason for objecting to. But we are not to suppose, that he there became a monk. His object in going to and remaining in that house was merely to study and receive a Christian education. (62) What Probus says of his having been initiated at Tours in the ecclesiastical state is indeed very probable, and perfectly consistent with the whole tenour of the saint's further proceedings. It proves, by the bye, that our saint did not become a monk; for in those times monks did not receive orders except in some extraordinary cases, *ex. c.* if a monk's sanctity were such as to induce the bishop to confer orders on him, as we read of St. Jerome, or when permission was given to ordain one of the monks for the service of the monastery. Except in this latter case, when a monk was admitted to the ecclesiastical profession, he was taken out of the monastery, and obliged to serve the church; for the two states viz. of clergyman and monk, were in general deemed incompatible. (63) As to St. Martin's monastery of Tours, in which, on the whole, St. Patrick was never more than a student, it was not merely a monastery in the strict sense of the word, such as those that anciently existed in Egypt, or those for whom St. Basil drew up a rule in the fourth century, or the Benedictine and other monasteries that commenced in the West after the times we are treating of, but rather a college, in which a bishop lived in common with some of his clergy, or with persons retired from the world, and

in which young men were instructed and prepared for the service of the church. As certain rules similar to those of monastic houses were observed in such establishments, they also began to be called monasteries. This excellent institution was first introduced into the Western church by St. Eusebius of Vercelli, and thence imitated by St. Martin and other prelates. (64)

(56) " Et iterum post annos *non* multos adhuc capturam dedi." (*ib.*) Probus has *multos annos ;* (*L.* 1. *c.* 10.) and it is to be observed, that *non* was wanting in the Armagh *MS.* of the Confession, which was one of those that Ware had made use of. (See his marginal note at *p.* 2.) Usher has followed the Armagh reading, *annos multos, Pr. p,* 834. And yet, strange to say, he reckons those *annos multos* at two years; *Ind. Chron.* at A. 395 and 397.

(57) " Nocte illa sexagesima liberavit me Dominus de manibus eorum." *p.* 9. In Ware's edition after these words follow a few lines, which have been evidently displaced, as what is contained in them belongs to the account of the saint's return from his Irish captivity. The whole text is better arranged in the Bollandist edition.

(58) *P.* 28. Concerning other plundering hordes see *Not.* 51.

(59) See above *Not.* 56. It is odd that the Bollandists place the second captivity only three months after St. Patrick's return to his own country, following in this computation the Tripartite, *L.* 1. *c.* 29. in opposition to Probus and to St. Patrick himself. In this part of the saint's history they went quite astray both as to times and places, and have given us mere hypotheses and calculations of their own, without paying due attention to former authorities.

(60) One of the Rheims breviaries quoted above (*Not.* 50) after bringing St. Patrick to Treguier adds, that thence " venit ad S. Martinum episcopum Turonensem, sub cujus et suorum institutione *quadriennium* peregit." The other has; " Ad S. Martinum episcopum Turonensem accessit, sub cujus institutione *quadriennium* peregit." We find in Probus, after a confused account of a captivity, which, though called the third, was in reality the first, (see Usher *p.* 833.) it expressly stated that St.

Patrick, having landed in Gaul, "pervenit ad Martinum episcopum Turoni, et *quatuor annis* mansit cum eo, et tonso capite ordinatus est ab eo in *clericum*, et tenuit lectionem et doctrinam ab eo." (*L.* 1. *c.* 14.) In the tracts now referred to St. Patrick's repairing to Tours and there spending four years is placed before the time of his going under the direction of St. German of Auxerre, and very justly; for German was a mere layman for several years after St. Patrick's return. As to what is said of our saint's going to St. Martin it is not to be understood of St. Martin in person, who was already dead some years, but, as the Bollandists have remarked, of St. Martin's monastery, according to a manner of speaking that often occurs in ecclesiastical documents; *ex. c. ad S. Petrum*, for Rome; but which seems not to have been rightly understood by Probus and others. (See above *Note* 11. to *Chap.* I.)

(61) See preceding *Note*, and *Third Life, cap.* 22. These authorities are of more weight than Usher's Tripartite and Joh. Tinmuth. (*ap. Pr. p.* 834.) for the space of only 10 days.

(62) In the passages quoted (*Not.* 60) there is not a word relative to St. Patrick's monachism. His education and instruction are the only objects alluded to, besides, what Probus adds, his having received the tonsure and perhaps some minor orders. Probus makes him no higher then than a *clericus*, meaning, according to the style of his times, that he was not even a deacon. St. Patrick's promotion to the priesthood is placed by Probus several years later. (*L.* 1. *c.* 17.) The Third Life, in which our saint is spoken of as having spent four years with St. Martin, has nothing about his having embraced the monastic state. We find this story only in the Tripartite and Jocelin; and it appears to have been derived from no other source than from its having been recorded, that St. Patrick had been for some time in a college called a monastery, whence those sapient compilers concluded, that he had become a monk. To mend the matter St. Patrick's *clerical* tonsure, mentioned by Probus, has been changed in the Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 32.) into a *monastic* tonsure.

(63) Fleury, *Institution au Droit Ecclesiastique; Part* 1. *ch.* 25. St. Jerome says; "Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum: clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor." *Ep.* 1. *ad Heliodor.*

(64) St. Ambrose writes; "Hæc enim primus in Occidente,

partibus diversa inter se Eusebius sanctæ memoriæ conjunxit, ut et in civitate positus instituta monachorum teneret, et Ecclesiam regeret jejunii sobrietate." (*Ep.* 82. *ad Eccl. Vercel.*) "Quod ipsum," says Baronius *ad an.* 328. *num.* 22, "præstantissimum vitæ genus sanctus Martinus Turonensis transvexit in Gallias et sanctus Augustinus in Africam, qui admirabili connexione," &c. According to the description of St. Martin's establishment by Sulpicius Severus, it was partly a monastery, strictly speaking, and partly a college or seminary for the education of ecclesiastical students. After telling us that St. Martin had a cell to himself and that some of the *brethren* dwelt in cells excavated in the mountain, he writes; "*Discipuli* vero octoginta erant, qui ad exemplum beati magistri instituebantur—Nemo ibi quidquam proprium habebat—Ars ibi, exceptis scriptoribus, nulla habebatur, cui tamen operi *minor actas* deputabatur." Among other observances of strict discipline, such as abstinence from wine, he mentions the coarseness of their dress, and remarks that it was wonderful to see how they submitted to the rules of the house, particularly as several of them were of noble families. "Many of them," he adds, "we have since seen bishops." (*De vita S. Martini, cap.* 7.) Here we have an exact picture of an ecclesiastical seminary, united to a monastery. St. Augustin often speaks of his own institution; let it suffice to quote but one passage; "Volui habere in ista domo Episcopi meum *monasterium* clericorum. Ecce quomodo vivimus. Nulli licet in societate habere aliquid proprium." (*Serm.* 49 *de Diversis.*) And Possidius in his Life *cap.* 25. tells us, that he and his clergy lived together, having every thing in common; "Cum ipso semper clerici, una etiam domo ac mensa, sumptibusque communibus alebantur et vestiebantur." See also Fleury, *Institution, &c. Part* 1. *ch.* 17.

§. x. Having left that house at the end of four years, St. Patrick, as the Rheims breviaries state, applied himself most fervently to works and practices of piety. This was the period, during which, being, as it is natural to suppose, among his relatives, the second captivity, of which above, most probably took place. To return to the saint's own narrative, he relates that he was a few years afterwards, that

is, as the context seems clearly to point out, after the second captivity, with his parents, who requested of him not to leave them any more, considering all the hardships he had undergone. "And," he adds, "I saw in a nocturnal vision a man coming as if "from Ireland, whose name was *Victoricius*, (65) "with innumerable letters, one of which he handed "to me. On reading the beginning of it I found "it contained these words; *The voice of the Irish.* "And whilst reading I thought I heard at the same "moment the voice of persons from near the wood "*Foclut*, which is near the western sea. (66) And "they cried out as if with one voice; *We intreat "thee, holy youth, to come and walk still amongst "us.* (67) And I was greatly affected in my heart, "and could read no longer; then I awoke." St. Patrick thanks God that what those people were crying out for was granted to them many years after by the Almighty. But he does not say, that he then formed, as some writers pretend, (68) a resolution of preparing himself for preaching the Gospel in Ireland. In what year this vision occurred I will not pretend to ascertain. (69) I find it mentioned, however, that St. Patrick was then about 30 years of age. (70) If this account be true, we may assign the vision to A. D. 417. The same authorities state, that soon after he went to put himself under the direction of St. German of Auxerre, when he was full 30 years old. (71) This brings us to the year 418, in which German was appointed bishop, having been but a very short time before taken from the laical state and secular administration, and successor of Amator, who died on the first of May in said year. (72) If we are to believe Probus, St. Patrick was a priest at the time the vision occurred, (73) and accordingly must have been then at least 30 years of age according to the discipline of the Gallican church. (74) Be this as it may, it is plain that our saint could not have placed himself under

the direction of St. German until the year 418; (75) at which time, counting from A. D. 387, the year of his birth, he had completed his 30th year.

After the period, at which St. Patrick attached himself to St. German and began to study under him, it is exceedingly difficult, and, I believe, impossible to arrange correctly, either as to chronological order or topographical accuracy, the succeeding transactions of his life until near the time of his mission. The accounts concerning the places, in which he spent those years, and the divisions of that space of time, are so confused and contradictory, that a precise and every way unobjectionable narrative cannot be expected. Were we to take the words of Erric of Auxerre in a strict sense, we should, according to him, admit that St. Patrick remained constantly with his illustrious teacher. (76) But, as he was mistaken with regard to the number of years, during which the discipleship of our saint lasted, he might have been also mistaken in this point, unless we should confine Erric's mistake to that of the years, and suppose that St. Patrick did not join himself to St. German until a few years prior to his mission. This hypothesis might seem to receive some degree of credit from Probus, who, as his text runs at present, makes St. Patrick proceed straight from St. Martin's monastery to a desert, there to pass eight years, and thence to an island where he remained nine years; next to the rock Hermon; whence, after having spent there a considerable time, he makes him take a trip to Ireland and preach to the natives; but, on his not succeeding in his holy exertions, the text sends him to Rome, and at last from Rome to Auxerre to put himself under the direction of St. German. But, considering the interpolations and derangement of that part of Probus' work, (77) we must look for some more consistent authorities, that may guide us as to this part of our saint's history. On the whole I think we may lay

down, as a sufficiently authorized fact, what has been stated above, viz. that St. Patrick, when 30 years of age, placed himself under the guidance of St. German; but it does not thence follow, that he spent the remainder of his years until near the period of his mission constantly at Auxerre. For it would be quite too sceptical to reject all that we read in his Lives and other tracts (78) of his having passed during that interval a considerable portion of his time in other places; nor will this prevent his being considered as having been during that whole period under German's direction, by whose advice, it is to be presumed, he was guided in the selection of such places as were the most conducive to his instruction and edification.

(65) Hence the name of the angel *Victor*. (See above *Not.* 41.) Could the name, *Victoricius*, have any reference to Victricius a famous saint among the Morini, and who is greatly praised by Paulinus of Nola in a letter to him? (*Ep.* 22.) After having suffered for the faith, and laboured much among the Morini, he became bishop of Rouen. Malbrancq treats largely of him, *Lib.* 2. *De Morinis.*

(66) The wood Foclut is called in Fiech's hymn *Caille Fochlad.* The Scholiast says that it was in Hy-Amalgaidh, now Tirawley in the county of Mayo.

(67) "Rogamus te sancte *puer*, ut venias et adhuc ambules inter nos." *Conf. p.* 9. It would seem that, instead of *puer*, some of the old writers read *pueri*, as if it were; *we boys intreat thee, O saint.* Fiech's hymn, (*Stroph.* 8.) the Scholiast (No. 15) the third Life, *cap.* 20. Probus *L.* 1. *cap.* 18. and the Tripartite *L.* 1. *c.* 30. speak of the voice as if coming from children; some of them say *infants.* The fourth Life, *cap.* 25. for *sancte puer* has *sancte Patrici*, and so has Probus, *loc. cit.* Perhaps it might be thought, that St. Patrick was at that time not young enough to be called *puer*; but those people from Foclut might be supposed to have addressed him according as he had appeared in Ireland during his captivity; or St. Patrick might have extended the term *puer* to an age exceeding that, which it is usual

to refer it to, somewhat in the same manner as we use the name, *lad*. It may also be asked how the people of Fochut could be introduced speaking in such a manner as if they were acquainted with St. Patrick, or how he could have known any thing about that place, having lived very far from it in Antrim or Down. Without recurring to other solutions it will be sufficient to observe, that, as the saint had been employed as a shepherd, he might have had many opportunities of going to Mayo or other parts of Connaught, either with his master or others, for the purpose of attending the sale or purchase of sheep, just as in our times shepherds resort occasionally from all parts of Ireland to the fair of Ballinasloe and to other great fairs.

(68) Not to quote some old writers, Harris mentions (*Archbishops of Armagh p.* 9.) this resolution, and then makes St. Patrick begin to travel. I shall not enter into a controversy on the subject of that resolution, although it might appear from various parts of the Confession, that St. Patrick did not understand the drift of the vision until at some later period, when he was informed by our Saviour of the task, which he had to undertake. (See *Conf. p.* 11.)

(69) Harris (*ib.*) places the vision about two years after St. Patrick's return from the second captivity, and quotes Usher in support of his assertion. But the two years allowed by Usher in the passages referred to were those, that intervened between the saint's return from Ireland and the second captivity. (See above *Not.* 56.) As to the years, that thence elapsed until the time of the vision, and which St. Patrick calls a *few years*, Usher has not undertaken to determine the number of them.

(70) " Erat autem tunc quasi annorum triginta." (Fourth Life, *cap.* 25. Tripartite *L.* 1. *c.* 31. Second Life, *cap.* 21.)

(71) Fourth Life *cap.* 26. Second Life, *cap.* 22. Tripart. *L.* 1. *c.* 32.

(72) It is painful to observe, what shifts Colgan was reduced to in endeavouring to show, that St. Patrick had been under the tuition of St. German as far back as A. D. 396, and indeed at Rome, as if St. German had, when very young, kept a school there. And then he strives to bring St. Patrick, after having been with German at Rome, to St. Martin in person. I pass over other absurdities, in which he has involved himself; and all for

the purpose of reconciling his computation of St. Patrick's years with certain stuff which he had found here and there, that induced him to think that St. German was his first preceptor after his Irish captivity, and with the story of our saint's having been under his direction full thirty years, as likewise with the mistranslation *Latium* for the *Letha* of Fiech's hymn. (See *Tr. Th. p.* 241. *seqq.*) Usher has given some of those passages, that led Colgan astray, without attempting to reconcile them, simply observing that those were mistaken who allowed even only 18 years for the time that St. Patrick remained under St. German, the number mentioned by Erric of Auxerre and some others after him. (*Pr. p.* 837. *seqq.*)

(73) Probus *L.* 1. *c.* 17. 18.

(74) The Council of Agde required that age for the ordination of priests as well as bishops; "Presbyterum vel episcopum ante triginta annos, id est, antequam ad viri perfecti ætatem perveniat, nullus metropolitanorum ordinare præsumat." *Can.* 17. This rule had been established long before by that of Neocaesarea, and, we may be sure, was observed in the Gallican church prior to its confirmation by the council of Agde.

(75) The Bollandists (*Comment. ad Vit. S. P.* §. 5.) bring St. Patrick to Auxerre in the year 414. Thus the 18 years mentioned by Erric of Auxerre (above *Not.* 72.) might in some manner be accounted for, as added to 414 they make 432. They state that in said year the saint attached himself to Amator, and afterwards to St. German; but Erric speaks of the 18 years as all passed under St. German, which, rigorously taken, could not be true. If, as indeed is not improbable, St. Patrick had been for some time at Auxerre with Amator, we might suspect, that it was by him he was ordained priest, and thus have a clue for what Probus and others say of his having been ordained bishop by one Amator not long before his setting out for the Irish mission. Those writers might have confounded one ordination with another, and, having heard of an ordination by Amator, understood it of his episcopal ordination, of which alone they make mention, excepting Probus. For Probus relates (*L.* 1. *c.* 17.) that St. Patrick was ordained priest by Senior, a bishop who lived on the mountain Hermon at the right side of the ocean, *in dextro latere maris oceani*, and whose city was protected by seven walls. The

Bollandists follow Probus with regard to Senior, and say that he was bishop, perhaps of Pisa; whereas they supposed that St. Patrick was then in Italy; for which supposition they could not produce any voucher worthy of credit, no more than for their conjecture that this ordination took place in the year 410, at which time our saint would have been, according to them, about 33 years old, as they placed his birth in 377. It is plain from Probus, that he did not allude to any part of Italy, as he places Senior's residence near the ocean, that is the Atlantic. The whole passage is very curious, not that we are bound to believe what it contains, but because it may be worth while to search for the place that Probus here alluded to. His phrase, *right side of the ocean*, must be understood as meaning the south side, according to the well known style of the ancient Irish, who, in the same manner as the nations of the East, called the South the *right* and the North the *left*, in consequence of their considering the point where the sun rises as the leading one in fixing geographical and astronomical positions. (See Vallancey, *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis; Vol. 2. p.* 269. and O'Brien *Ir. Dict.* at *Deas.*) The name, *Hermon*, signifies a *great rock*, being a compound of two Celtic words, *Her*, great, and *Maen*, rock. (Bullet, *Dict. Celtique* at *Herma.*) This rock or mount adjoining the ocean to the South must be sought for in the great promontory of Britany, or close to some of the bays of Normandy. At first sight it might seem probable, that Hermon was one of the rocks near St. Malo, and that the town, called St. Malo's city, was Aletum or Aletha, a place of considerable note and the see of the celebrated St. Maclovius, whence it got the name of St. Maclovius' town, afterwards corrupted into *St. Malo.* Some writers maintain, that it was an episcopal see before the time of St. Maclovius. (See Hadr. Vales. *Notit. Gall. ad Aletum.*) The name of *St. Malo* together with the see was transferred in the 12th century to the present St. Malo, about a league distant from Aletum, the ruins of which are still to be seen under the name of *Quidaleth* or *Guichaleth.* (*ib.* and Martiniere at *Aleth.*) But what must we say of the *seven walls* mentioned by Probus? For, although Aletum was a garrison town, and the residence of the Prefect or commander of the soldiers called *Martenses*, we meet with no account of its having been defended by such a number

of walls. I am therefore inclined to think, that the *Hermon* of Probus is the rock now called *Mont St. Michel*, and which might justly be called Hermon, as it is a really stupendous rock, situated in a bay between Avranches and Dol at the points of Normandy and Britany. It has the sea to the North and is so close to it, that in times of high water it becomes an island. It was a celebrated place long before the period, in which Probus lived. A church was erected on its top in honour of St. Michael A. D. 709 by Autbert bishop of Avranches. Hadr. Valesius (at *S. Michaelis Mons*) says that it is thought to have been built by Paternus, who was bishop of Avranches in the sixth century. A Benedictine monastery was also established there, and a considerable town grew up at the base and sides of the rock. It was much resorted to by pilgrims, and supplied with a numerous garrison. To add to its natural strength, it was fortified in a prodigious manner, having from the bottom upwards various ranges of walls, which, including the balustrades around the church on its summit, may be fairly computed at the number of seven. (See Martiniere at *Mont St. Michel.*) It will naturally be objected, that it was not an episcopal see; but this is easily obviated on reflecting, that we often find bishops residing in monasteries, as was the case in Ireland, where the superior of the monastery was very often both bishop and abbot, a custom, according to which, not to enlarge at present upon something similar having been practised in the West of Gaul, Probus, as an Irishman, or whoever he got that passage from, might have conceived Senior of the rock Hermon to have been a bishop. As to the objection that no bishop of the name of Senior is spoken of by any writer as living in any part of Gaul at that period, it equally affects the hypothesis of the Bollandists; for no mention is made of a bishop of that name then in Italy. Perhaps the *Senior* of Probus is not to be taken as a proper name, but as signifying *aged, old.* It may also be objected, that there seems not to have been any town or church at Mont St. Michel in St. Patrick's time. Be that as it may, it is sufficient to observe, that as it was a place of note long before Probus wrote his work, being mentioned among the great monasteries of France in a deed of Lewis the pious A. D. 817, (Hadr. Val.) he, or others before him, who little minded chronological dates, might have thought it had been so

when St. Patrick was living. And it is probable that, to add to the respectability of that holy rock, a story had been circulated concerning our saint's having spent some time there, particularly as it was inhabited of old by hermits before the time of Autbert. (Martiniere.) What I have now endeavoured to explain will serve to throw light on a very strange passage in the third Life (*cap.* 25); "Et Angelus duxit eum ad montem Arnon *ar muir Lethe* supra *petram* maris Tyrrheni in civitate quæ vocatur Capua." Probus had in like manner mentioned the interference of an Angel in sending St. Patrick to Hermon. Here we have likewise a rock in *ar muir Lethe*, the sea of *Letha* or Armoric Gaul. (See above *Not.* 48.) What follows in that passage after *petram* was added by some bungler, who was striving to interpret the Irish words *ar muir Lethe*, and mistook *Lethe* for Latium. Hence was introduced the Tuscan sea and, wonderful to tell, *Capua*; which has greatly puzzled honest Colgan, who, knowing that Capua lies several miles distant from the sea, conjectured that for *Capua* we might read *Caieta*. Jocelin (*cap.* 26) has copied this stuff about the Tuscan sea and Capua, but calls the mountain *Morion*. The Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 37.) does not mention Capua, and retains the name *Hermon*. Colgan knew not what to do with a mountain or rock *Hermon*, *Arnon*, or *Morion*, as he could make out none of that name in Italy; but the Bollandists jumped over the difficulty by changing the mountain into a river; for they could have no other foundation for guessing at a Senior, bishop of Pisa, than their understanding *Arnon*, as in the third Life, of the river Arno, on which the city of Pisa is situated.

(76) "Patricius—sanctissimo ejus (Germani) discipulatui 18 addictus annis." (*De miracul. S. Germ. L.* 1. *c.* 12.) It was during this time that St. Patrick is said to have got the name of *Magonius* (above *Not.* 29) or, as Nennius has, *Maun*. Q. If there be any truth in this story, might not *Maun* be the same as *Maen*, a rock, by which appellation we may suppose that our saint was distinguished?

(77) *L.* 1. *capp.* 15—21. It is evident, that the text of Probus has been interpolated and thrown out of its original order in the chapters here referred to. One proof will suffice. After reading, as the text now stands, that St. Patrick was at Rome, we find him returning from Italy and then immediately we have the

following passage ; " Transnavigato vero *mari Britannico* et arrepto versus Gallias itinere venit—ad—Germanum, videlicet, Antissiodorensis Ecclesiæ episcopum." Thus we should place the British sea between Italy and the Gauls. Colgan had good reason to say ; " Ecce iterum insulsam et inversam rerum gestarum narrationem." (*Not. ad loc.*) He says *iterum*, alluding to a former observation of his on the absurdity of making St. Patrick preach the gospel in Ireland before he had been regularly appointed to that mission. It is strange, that the Bollandists (§. 5.) have swallowed that absurdity ; for in consequence of following the corrupted text of Probus they send St. Patrick, as a preacher, to Ireland straight from the school of their Senior of Pisa in the year 413, according to their whimsical calculations, and then bring him to Auxerre in 414. Now there is nothing more clear from the *Confession* than that St. Patrick never undertook the office of a missionary in Ireland until after he was consecrated bishop, and had been for a considerable time under the direction of St. German. Probus is not to blame for all this nonsense ; for it is plain from other parts of the work, *ex. c. L.* 1. *c.* 27. that he knew of no other preaching of St. Patrick in Ireland than that which commenced A. D. 432.

(78) See Usher, *p.* 835, *seqq.*

§. XI. In one of the Lives it is stated that he spent four years with St. German, and afterwards nine years in an island called *insula Tamerensis*, on the expiration of which he went to Rome, with the approbation of St. German, who sent along with him Segetius a priest as a voucher of his good character. (79) According to this account, in which there appears no inconsistency as to the number of years, we have a total of thirteen years, which, counting from the year 418, at which time St Patrick was in his thirty-first year, brings us to A. D. 431 when Pope Celestine was planning the great mission for Ireland, and when our saint being then in the 44th year of his age set out for Rome, recommended by St. German as a proper person to be employed with others in that holy undertaking. But, as all the Lives

agree in stating, that he was with St. German, and had consulted with him on the business immediately prior to his journey to Rome, and consequently set out straight from Auxerre, which is confirmed also by his having been accompanied by one of St. German's priests, it is more natural to suppose, that the four years spent with St. German were not before but after the nine years, which he is said to have passed in the island. It will be easily admitted that, after nine years employed in study and retirement, four years of active service were not too many for his becoming completely qualified for a correct administration of the sacraments and for all the practical duties of the pastoral profession. Nor is there any other manner of reconciling the statements of the various writers of St. Patrick's Lives, concerning his having been with St. German, when 30 years of age, his living in an island or islands, and then his being with that saint immediately before he set out for Rome, than by laying down that, when 30 years old he actually put himself under the guidance of St. German, who soon after sent him to study for some years in a place fit for that purpose, after which, on our saint's return, he kept him with himself for some years longer until the affair of the Irish mission was determined upon. It is thus we find those circumstances arranged in Fiech's hymn, where he is stated to have been first with St. German, then in islands of the Tuscan sea, and again with that saint studying the Canons under him. (80) Probus also has the nine years in the island prior to St. Patrick's studying under St. German. But as in that part of his work there are evident marks of confusion, as we have seen already, I will not enlarge on that circumstance. There is, however, an argument, to which no such objection can be made, furnished by Probus in another place, where his text runs regular and consistent. Having told us that St. Patrick had been for a *considerable* time under

the immediate inspection of German, he then relates how our saint set about the necessary preparations for his mission to Ireland, and of his being accompanied by Segetius, or, as he calls him, Regirus. (81) Hence it appears, that the discipleship under St. German *in person* was immediately prior to the affair of the mission, and consequently after the period spent in the island. It now becomes easy to rectify the text and fix the true meaning of the passage of the third Life above referred to; (82) for which purpose nothing more is requisite than to place, as ought to be done, the four years at St. Martin's monastery not only before those in the island, but likewise before the other four years under St. German's immediate direction.

It has been just observed, that Probus agrees with that Life as to the number of nine years in the island. (83) The Tripartite has seven years, (84) which Colgan accounts for by supposing an erratum of a transcriber, who wrote *seven* instead of *nine*. Usher has quoted a passage from Tirechan, in which St. Patrick is said to have spent seven years partly in islands of the Tuscan sea and partly elsewhere. (85) But no reliance can be placed on that passage, at least with regard to the number of years, as appears from the stuff that immediately follows concerning our saint's having remained full thirty years in one of those islands. (86) This same number of thirty years is spoken of in some of the Lives as having been spent with St. German, and indeed, to complete the blunder, in the island (87) It is needless to remark further on this trash, than that these thirty years were introduced to make up the pretended age of sixty at the commencement of our saint's mission; for, as it was generally admitted that he was 30 years old when he placed himself under the direction of St. German, it was thought necessary to allow 30 years more for the period of his discipleship, be-

sides the consideration of the fine sound of those even numbers of thirties. (88)

(79) Third Life, *capp.* 21. 22. I must not conceal, that the author places the four years passed at Tours between the four other years with St. German and the time of St. Patrick's going to the island. This must be taken as a *hysteron proteron;* for we have already seen, that St. Patrick had been at Tours before he went to Auxerre. See above *Not.* 60. and the Bollandists, who also place St. Patrick's abode in St. Martin's monastery prior to his going under the direction of St. German. (*Comment. praev. ad V. S. P.* §. 5.)

(80) "Apud Germanum remansit in australi parte Latii (Letha.) In insulis maris Tyrrheni mansit, uti memoro (memoratur). Legit canones apud Germanum." (*Stroph.* 5. 6. *Colgan's translation.*) The word *remansit* can mean only, that St. Patrick spent some time with St. German before he went to the islands. I much doubt whether the Irish phrase *comdhfargaib,* which Colgan has rendered *remansit,* should not rather be translated, *visited* or *conferred with;* as I also suspect that instead of *australi parte,* the South, the words, *andes an deisciort,* would be better explained by *South-east.* Leaving these discussions to persons more deeply versed in the Irish language than I can pretend to be, I shall only add that this narrative has given occasion to a singular mistake, which we find in some of the Lives of St. Patrick; viz. that, while in the island, he was instructed there by St. German himself. (Second Life, *cap.* 22. Tripart. *L.* 1. *c.* 33.) As if it were not well known, that St. German never resided nor taught in any of those islands near the south of France. Those good people supposed, that the account given in the hymn related to one uninterrupted chain of part of St. Patrick's life, and accordingly placed St. German along with him in the island or islands.

(81) "Apud quem (S. Germanum) *non parvo tempore demoratus est* in omni subjectione—misitque cum illo S. Germanus presbyterum nomine Regirum." *L.* 1. *c.* 21. *seqq.*

(82) *Not.* 79.

(83) "Permansit cum insulanis illis novem annis." (*L.* 1. *c.* 16.) There is indeed in the preceding chapter an account of St. Pa-

trick's having spent eight years with certain hermits, as if prior to the nine years; but it is evidently an interpolation, and a mere repetition, with one or two variations (*ex. c. eight* for *nine*) of the same anecdote.

(84) *L.* 1. *c.* 34.

(85) "Septem annis ambulavit et navigavit, in fluctibus et in campestribus locis et in convallibus montanis, per Gallias atque Italiam totam, atque in insulis quæ sunt in mari Tyrrheno; ut ipse dixit in commemoratione laborum." (*Pr. p.* 835.) Where St. Patrick has said so I cannot discover; in his tracts still extant there is not a word about these seven years, or plains, vallies, &c. There is a saying attributed to St. Patrick, in which his travels in Gaul, Italy, and some islands are mentioned; but no number of years is spoken of: "*Timorem Dei habui ducem itineris mei per Gallias atque Italiam, etiam in insulis quæ sunt in mari Tyrrheno.*" (*ib. p.* 836.)

(86) After *laborum* (*Not.* 85) the text goes on thus: "Erat autem in una ex insulis, quæ dicitur Aralanensis, annis 30, mihi testante Ultano episcopo." If Ultan, who was bishop of Ardbraccan in the seventh century, ever said any such thing, the text must have been corrupted as to the number, by there being inserted *thirty* instead of, perhaps, *three*, a part of the total of the seven years just before mentioned. These calculations were patched up to support the favourite notion of St. Patrick's having been sixty years of age when his mission commenced. By adding 37 to 22, his age on escaping from captivity, we have 59 full years; then allowing a year or only some months for his preparations, prior to his setting out for Ireland, we come to sixty years. It is pitiful to consider, what useless trouble Colgan put himself to (*Tr. Th. p.* 241. *seqq.*) in endeavouring to arrange and distribute the 38 years, which he supposed had elapsed between the captivity and the mission, and to determine the respective places, in which so many years were spent, &c.

(87) "*Arelanensis* erat nomen insulæ, in qua sanctus Germanus docuit sanctum Patricium per *triginta* annos." (Fourth Life, *cap.* 26.) And the second Life has, *cap.* 22. "Patricius quando pervenit ad Germanum in insulâ *Aralanensi* nomine, *in qua* docuit eum, triginta tunc annos impleverat; *triginta* annis legit cum

illo." We find the same story with all its circumstances in the Tripartite. (*L.* 1. *c.* 33.) See *Not.* 80.

(88) See above *Notes* 7. 8. 86. 87.

§. XII. We may now lay down, that St. Patrick went to some island probably in the year 418; but it becomes requisite to inquire what island it was, and whether the saint might not have passed the nine years partly in one island and partly in others. There were at that time religious establishments in several of the small islands of the Mediterranean, between the coasts of France and Italy; (89) among which that of Lerins, now called St. Honorat from the founder of that house St. Honoratus, became the most eminent. The author of the third Life, calls the island, that St. Patrick went to, *Tumerensis, i. e.* the island *Tameria* or *Tamaria.* (90) Colgan conjectures (91) that it was the same as *Capraria,* now *Capraia,* for which he had no foundation except his having misunderstood a passage of Usher. For although Usher, speaking in general of the islands inhabited by monks, mentions Capraria, (92) he does not make it the same as Tamaria; but, on the contrary, in another place (93) throws out a very plausible conjecture that *Tamaria* was no other than *Camaria,* now *Camargue* near Arles, an island close to the mouths of the Rhone formed by the branches of the river. This conjecture seems to be favoured by an expression of Probus, *in the island between the mountains and the sea.* (94) For it is not easy to understand these words except of an island in a river or lake, such as is Camargue, unless we should so explain them, as if Probus meant to say that the religious persons, to whom St. Patrick was sent, lived between the mountains of the island and the sea (95). Yet, in whatever manner that passage is to be understood, as we have no account of any religious house in Camargue at that time, although there were then monasteries in

other parts of Provence, (96) we cannot lay much stress on that conjecture, particularly as the character of Patroclus, who was bishop of Arles at that very period, was not such as to induce any pious person to place himself under his jurisdiction. (97) Passing over this conjecture and some strange hypotheses concerning the *insula Tamerensis*, (98) we must observe that the one or two writers, who have called the island by this name, meant the very same island, which in some of the other Lives is called *Arelanensis*. (99) For those that have *Tamerensis* say nothing about *Arelanensis*; and vice versa in the Lives, that have the latter name, we do not find the former. It is therefore very reasonable to suppose that *Tamerensis* is merely a various reading, and *Arelanensis* another, for the name of some island celebrated at that time for a school of learning and piety. It must be also recollected, that this island is to be sought for in some part of the Mediterranean not far from the western coast of Italy. (100) Now where can we find an island, with which these circumstances will so properly agree, or whose name bears such an affinity with *Arelanensis*, as the famous *insula Lerinensis*, *Lerinum*, Lerins, in which so many holy and learned men have been educated, and which might have been justly called a seminary of bishops? (101) The Bollandists agree as to the probability of this opinion, and even think that the expression of Probus above quoted is relative to it. (102) In fact that island is so near the coast and the mountains, that it might, in a loose way of speaking, be said to lie between them and the sea, that is, the *altum mare* the wide sea. Should it be objected that Lerins, or St. Honorat, is not in that part of the sea properly called Etruscan, but rather in the Gallican or Ligurian, it is sufficient to observe that it lies so far to the East towards Italy, that writers living at a period, when topographical niceties were not so strictly attended to, may be excused for plac-

ing it in the Italian or, according to their phrase, the Tyrrhene sea. Usher seemed inclined to think that Lerins was the island, in which St. Patrick remained, but mentions (103) an objection founded upon St. Honoratus not having as yet established his monastery there at the time St. Patrick might have repaired thither. This objection might have some weight, considering Usher's calculations as to the division of our saint's life, and his having antidated by many years the transactions of it, but is of no avail in the hypothesis that St. Patrick did not go to the island until A. D. 418; whereas it is universally admitted, that Honoratus' establishment in Lerins had been formed long before that year. (104) I think then we may safely conclude, that Lerins was the island, to which St. Patrick retired; and what better school could St. German have sent him to, than that, in which his friends Hilarius of Arles, Lupus of Troyes, Maximus of Riez, and so many other great men had been formed? (105) As to what we read of St. Patrick having been in *islands*, (106) without entering into further disquisitions it is sufficient to observe, that very near Lerinum was another island called *Lero*, (now *Ste Marguerite*) which became celebrated by its having been chosen for his place of retreat by the great St. Eucherius of Lyons. (107) St. Patrick might have occasionally visited this island, or some of the other small islands off those coasts then inhabited by persons, who had retired from the world. (108)

What has been already stated in this chapter concerning the monastery or college of St. Martin near Tours is equally applicable to the institution at Lerins, which was in great part a seminary for the education of clergymen, and thereby distinguished from the monasteries strictly so called, of whose plan that object constituted no part. Before concluding this subject of the islands, it will not be amiss to add a few words concerning the staff, called the staff of

Jesus, so much spoken of in the Lives of St. Patrick. He is said to have received it from a hermit in an island of the Etruscan sea, to whom it had been delivered by our Saviour himself, whence the name *staff of Jesus*, with an order to give it to St. Patrick, when he should arrive there. (109) Neither Fiech's hymn, nor the Scholiast, nor Probus (110) make any mention of it. Jocelin (111) and the Tripartite (112) have some prodigious stories relative to it, and compare it with the rod of Moses. St. Bernard speaks of it in his Life of St. Malachy, and describes it as covered over with gold and adorned with most precious gems, where he relates that Nigellus, the usurper of the see of Armagh, had taken it away together with the book of the Gospels, which had belonged to St. Patrick; adding, that both were held in such veneration, that whoever had them in his possession was considered by some foolish people as the real bishop. Giraldus Cambrensis says that in his time it was removed from Armagh to Dublin.(113) It was in all appearance the crosier used by St. Patrick, and might have been originally a plain walking stick. If there be any truth in St. Patrick's having got it from a person in that island, it is probable that he brought it with him as a keepsake of a friend. According to some accounts that person's name was Justus. (114) I find a bishop of that name among those, who assisted at a synod of Arles held about A. D. 450, and which was composed chiefly of prelates, who had been eleves of the school of Lerins. (115)

(89) Usher *p.* 836.

(90) *Cap.* 22. The same name occurs in Usher's Tripartite; *Pr. p.* 835.

(91) *Tr. Th. p.* 30. (92) *P.* 836.

(93) *Ind. Chron. ad An.* 409.

(94) "Vade ad illos, qui sunt in insula inter montes et mare." *L.* 1. *cap.* 16.

(95) The matter was thus understood by the compiler of the Tripartite; for, after mentioning that St. Patrick was *in mari Tyrrheno*, that is, in an island of that sea, he says that there he went to certain persons, who dwelt in a cavern between a mountain and the sea. (*L.* 1. *c.* 34.)

(96) Fleury, *Hist. Eccles. Liv.* xxiv. §. 56.

(97) See Tillemont, *Memoires*, &c. *Tom.* xv. *p.* 54.

(98) The Bollandists, having rejected the conjecture as to Camargue, give us one of their own, which is really unworthy of such men as Henschenius and Papebrochius. They would have us take the *insula Tamerensis* for Ireland itself; *Tamerensis* for *Temoriensis* from *Temoria* the capital of Ireland. What a wild idea! Ireland was never called by that name. In the third Life, where the word *Tamerensis* is found, Ireland is often mentioned but under no other name than *Hibernia*. Connected with this extravagant explanation is their sending St. Patrick to preach in Ireland long before his regular appointment for that purpose. (See *Not.* 77.) Another droll conjecture has been started by Porter, *Compend. Annal. Eccl. &c. p.* 123. He places the *insula Tamarensis* opposite the mouth of a river Tamar, that flows in England into the *Irish* sea. We find indeed a river *Tamar* in England *viz.* that of Plymouth (Camden *Britannia*, *col.* 25); but does it flow into the channel, and where is the island?

(99) See *Not.* 86 and 87. Colgan would fain read *Arelatensis* for *Arelanensis*, as he thought that Camargue was the island alluded to; (*Tr. Th. p.* 17.) while elsewhere he makes Tamaria a different island from the Arelanensis. (*ib. p.* 30.) The Bollandists also, prepossessed with their hypothesis concerning *Tamarensis* (*Not.* 98.) distinguish it from the insula *Arelanensis*.

(100) *In mari Tyrrheno.* See *Notes* 80–85–95.

(101) See Tillemont, *Memoires*, &c. *Tom.* xv. *p.* 395.

(102) "*Inter montes et mare*—inter Alpes Maritimas et mare Gallicum-Hetruscum." *Comment. præv. ad V. S. P.* §. 9.

(103) *Pr. p.* 836.

(104) Some writers, and among others the Bollandists, say that Honoratus founded his monastery about A. D. 375. According to Tillemont (*Tom.* XII. at *St. Honorat Art.* 7.) this foun-

dation could not have taken place earlier than about A. D. 400. At any rate it was by many years prior to A. D. 418.

(105) In the tract on the Liturgy quoted by Usher, *p.* 343, Germanus himself is spoken of as having been a member of the *monasterium Lirenense*, or, as it is there written, *Linerense* together with Lupus. But this cannot be reconciled with what is known of the whole tenor of St. German's life, and only shows that he was much connected with the pious *solitaires* of Lerins, among whom there were persons of various nations and tongues. (See Tillemont at *St. Honorat.*) In the stories concerning St. Patrick's proceedings in the island there occur certain circumstances, that have a sort of similarity with some, which are said to have taken place in Lerins. I will mention but one. Probus says (*L.* 1. *c.* 16.) that St. Patrick, when in the island between the mountains and the sea, drove away a huge beast, that used to hinder the islanders from getting water at a fountain. This is somewhat like the story concerning St. Honoratus having driven a dragon out of the island of Lerins. Tillemont, *ib.*

(106) Fiech's Hymn, Tirechan, &c.

(107) Tillemont *Mem. Tom.* xv. *Art. St. Eucher.*

(108) See St. Ambrose, *Hexam. L.* 3. *c.* 5. and St. Jerome, *Ep.* 30. ad Oceanum.

(109) Henry the monk of Saltrey in Huntingtonshire in his fabulous book, *De Purgatorio S. Patricii*, says (*cap.* 1.) that St. Patrick received it from our Saviour himself. The Tripartite has the same story; *L.* 1. *c.* 37.

(110) Probus speaks of a staff, with which St. Patrick struck a certain grave; (*L.* 2. *c.* 21.) but he neither calls it the staff of Jesus, nor tells us how the saint came by it.

(111) *Cap.* 24. (112) *L.* 1. *c.* 36–37.

(113) Whoever wishes to know more about this staff may consult Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 263. and Lynch, *Life of St. Patrick, p.* 119.

(114) Jocelin, *cap.* 24. and a Paris breviary quoted by Colgan, *loc. cit.*

(115) Tillemont, *Mem. Tom.* xv. *p.* 407.

§. XIII. The termination of the nine years passed in the island brings us to A. D. 427, at which time, as we may reasonably calculate, our saint was 39

years of age. On his returning to Auxerre he could not but have been actively employed by such a bishop as St. German. It is very probable that in the interval between that year and A. D. 431 he spent some time in his own country; and perhaps to his officiating at Boulogne as a priest we ought to refer what, as we have seen above, (116) Malbrancq has about his having acted as bishop in that town. For, his hypothesis concerning St. Patrick having been consecrated bishop in the year 424 or at any time before 431, cannot be reconciled with the most creditable accounts, that we have as to the time of his consecration. And, whether or not there were any bishop officiating in that country at this period, yet it appears more consistent to suppose, that our saint acted there only as a priest, particularly as very little time seems to have elapsed between his promotion to the episcopacy and his repairing to Ireland. Nor will this invalidate the assertion of Malbrancq, that St. Patrick at some time *after* A. D. 424 (the year in which he supposes him to have been consecrated at Rome) officiated at Boulogne; for although it may be doubted, whether the saint was then a bishop or only a priest, the fact of his having acted there as a clergyman remains untouched. Similar doubts as to the rank of celebrated men at the time of certain exertions of theirs frequently occur in ecclesiastical history; and Malbrancq himself furnishes us with a case quite in point. He tells us that the famous St. Victricius had preached and greatly exerted himself among the Morini, and that he was afterwards made bishop of Rouen; and he adds that one of the reasons, which induced St. German to send St. Patrick to Boulogne among that people was the state, to which their church had been reduced by the loss of Victricius. (117) Malbrancq was of the opinion of those, who maintain that Victricius had preached to the Morini before his episcopacy; while others hold

that he was already bishop of Rouen at the time of his pastoral labours among them (118)

(116) *Chap.* III. §. VIII. (117) *De Morinis, L.* 2. *c.* 26.
(118) See Tillemont, *Mem. Tom.* x. *Art. St. Victrice.*

§. XIV. It was during the same interval that St. Patrick accompanied St. German and Lupus of Troyes in their spiritual expedition to G. Britain in the year 429 (119) for the purpose of extirpating the Pelagian heresy, which had taken root in that island. This fact is stated in some accounts of St. Patrick's proceedings; (120) nor in the Lives, that are silent about it, is there any circumstance to be met with, that might tend to invalidate it. The Bollandists do not admit it; as it would not accord with their calculations and their presupposing, that our saint was at that time still in Lerins But, since it has been shown that he was not, nothing remains to prevent our receiving it as true; for it will not be denied, that German and Lupus took with them some clerical companions, nor does there appear any reason to show that St. Patrick was not one of them. And, as he was most probably at Boulogne (121) at the time they set out, he was accordingly in the very track of their course to Britain, and so had nothing more to do than to join them at the place of embarkation, which was perhaps Boulogne itself, or if not, certainly some port not far from it. (122) For, besides those having been at all times the usual places for taking a passage from the Gauls for Britain, it appears from the two prelates having on their way stopped for some time at Nanterre in the diocese of Paris, (123) that their journey was directed towards the Streights. In what particular manner St. Patrick was employed while in G. Britain it would be useless to inquire, as we have not records sufficient to guide us, there remaining only an imperfect account of the acts of that memorable expedition. (124) But we may be sure

that he was not idle during that time, and I will here for once observe, that whatever is to be met with here and there concerning St. Patrick's having preached in any part of G. Britain (125) must be referred to this period or to that of some short delays, which he is said to have made while crossing that country in his progress from Gaul to Ireland in the year 432. For it is clear from his own testimony, (126) that from the time he undertook his mission he remained with the Irish people during the whole remainder of his life.

(119) Usher *Pr. p* 225. and above *chap.* 1. §. xv.

(120) Fiech's Scholiast has, *num.* 10; "Venit autem Germanus in Britanniam ad extirpandam haeresim Pelagii, quae in ea multum crevit. Et sic venit cum Patricio et aliis multis, illamque haeresin continuo extirpabat—Ipse et Patricius reversi sunt in Galliam." This is what Jocelin alluded to, however mistaken as to the time, where he writes *(cap* 92); "Quia pestis Pelagianae haeresis atque Ariana perfidia pluribus in locis Britanniae fidem foedaverat; ipse (Patricius) praedicando," &c. As to what Jocelin says of the Arian heresy *then* infecting Britain, there is no foundation for it. (See Bede *L.* 1. *cap.* 17. and Stillingfleet, *Antiquities,* &c. *chap.* 4.) A passage quoted by Usher *(p.* 840) from William of Malmesbury *(De antiq. Glaston. Eccl.)* contains something to the same purpose; and in the old tract on the liturgy *(ib.* and *p.* 842.) the preaching of German and Lupus in Britain and St. Patrick's connexion with them are spoken of in such a manner as to favour an inference, that he was along with them on that expedition.

(121) To St. Patrick's preaching the Gospel at Boulogne and in the adjacent territory is seemingly to be referred a passage of Probus, in which among the countries, that were to be enlightened through his ministry, Normandy is mentioned. "Scotiam atque Britanniam, Angliam et *Normanniam*—baptizabis." *L.* 1. *c.* 10. We have seen already *(chap.* III. §. XIV.) that the name of Normandy had been sometimes extended to tracts not comprized within the modern limits of that province.

(122) See above *chap.* III. *notes* 83. 106.

(123) Usher *p.* 327. and Tillemont, *Memoires* &c. *Tom.* xv. *p.* 16.

(124) Tillemont, *ib.*

(125) Besides the passage quoted (*Not.* 121) in which howsoever we may understand *Britanniam* (see *Chap.* III.) Probus certainly meant by *Angliam* a part of G. Britain, he writes (*L. 2. capp.* 24, 25) that at a certain time, when all Britain was nearly overspread with infidelity, St. Patrick was almost despairing of doing any good among the inhabitants, as they would not pay attention to his preaching; but that the Lord comforted him and told him, that his toils would not be quite useless. Accordingly on the day, after that affliction had seized him, he had the consolation of baptizing Muneria the daughter of a prince of the country. Probus gives us no hint as to the time when this might have happened; for in that part of his work, it being on miracles, he observes no chronological order. Yet it may be justly doubted whether the *Britain* here alluded to by Probus, or by whomsoever he got those anecdotes from, was not rather the Belgic than the insular one. The circumstances of G. Britain from A. D. 427 to 432 included (the only period to which we are authorized to assign any preaching of St. Patrick in that country) were not such as to afford a reason for asserting that infidelity prevailed there almost universally. The only complaint we meet with as to the state of the church of G. Britain at that time is its having been infected with the poison of the Pelagian heresy; nor did the deplorable state, to which that church was reduced by the Saxon persecution, and which is so feelingly described by Gildas, take place until after A. D. 450. (See Usher *p.* 415. *seqq.* and *Ind. Chron.*) On the other hand there are good reasons for believing, that the churches of Belgic Britain, which comprehended, besides the district of the Morini, some other adjacent territories, were in a sad condition about A. D. 427 or 428, the time at which St. Patrick seems to have gone to Boulogne after his return from Lerins. We may add to what Malbrancq has on this subject (see above §. XIII) the effects injurious to religion, that must have been produced in those tracts by the ravages of the Barbarians (*Not.* 51.); and we may suppose that the situation of those churches was somewhat similar to that, in which Victricius had found them some years before, and which is thus described by Tillemont; "Ce que les *Romains* ap-

pellaient les *Morins* et les *Nerviens*, et qui comprend à peu près la Flandre, le Brabant, le Hainaut, et le Cambresis, avait reçu quelque connoissance de la vérité dès le temps de Diocletien. Mais la negligence des pasteurs ou les ravages des barbares y ayant empesché le progrés de l'Evangile, Dieu choisit Saint Victrice pour," &c. (*Memoires*, &c. *Tom.* x. *p.* 671.) The baptism of that British princess, but under the name of *Manessa*, is mentioned also in the third Life, (*cap.* 78) and, following the context, must be supposed to have been performed in Ireland; for it is there stated, that her parents hearing of the great reputation of St. Patrick brought her to him. In the Tripartite it is said (*L.* 3. *c.* 73.) that the daughter of a British king came to Ireland to be instructed by the saint; and Jocelin also has (*cap.* 159) the princess, calling her *Memessa*, her having been brought to St. Patrick, the baptism, &c. but without telling us in what country it took place. He would indeed elsewhere (*cap.* 92.) fain make us believe, that St. Patrick went to G. Britain after his mission had commenced; but our saint's authority is vastly preferable to that of a writer, who in that same chapter has so many falshoods, not to say lies, concerning 30 British bishops in Ireland, the isle of Man then subject to Britain, the fall of the magician Melin, &c.

(126) *Confess. p.* 17.

§. xv. The saints German and Lupus remained in Great Britain until the Easter of the year 430, and some time in that year returned to Gaul. (127) It is very likely, as has been observed elsewhere, (128) that the information, which they might have obtained, during their absence from home, concerning the state and wants of the Irish Christians, was communicated to Pope Celestine, who either had already determined on sending a bishop to Ireland, or was advised to do so by those prelates. But a bishop was not to be sent unaccompanied by other missionaries; and who could be better qualified for being chosen an assistant to that bishop than Patrick, who had lived six years in Ireland and had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language of the country? Having returned from Great Britain together with

the two prelates, he accompanied, according to the most consistent account, St. German to Auxerre, (129) where it would appear they did not arrive until rather late in the year now mentioned. And this accords with the sequel of our saint's proceedings; for it must have been either towards the close of said year or early in the next, *viz.* A. D. 431, that he was sent to Rome by St. German, recommended by him to the Pope as a person fit to be employed in the mission, which was then preparing for Ireland, and of which Palladius was appointed the chief. (130) We have already seen in this chapter, that St. Patrick went straight from Auxerre to Rome; nor, looking to the period of his return from Britain, was there much time to spare between it and that of his setting out for the capital of the Christian world. Whether he arrived in Rome before Palladius set out thence for Ireland, or not long after, cannot be ascertained; but there can be no doubt of his having been well received by the Pope; (131) for, were there no other reason for such a favourable reception, the recommendation of such a great saint as German would have been sufficient. He was accompanied by Segetius a priest, (132) who, besides being commissioned to give a good character of him, was probably charged with letters from St. German to the Pope concerning the success of his mission and the state of religion in Great Britain. The object of our saint in going to Rome or of St. German's recommendation was not to obtain an ecclesiastical preferment in that city; and all that we read in some late writers concerning St. Patrick's having been a Canon Regular of St. John Lateran is totally destitute of foundation; (133) for, besides there having been no such description of clergymen belonging to that church until a much later period, (134) our saint did not remain long enough at Rome to become regularly attached to that or any other church in that city. (135)

(127) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* (128) *Chap.* 1. §. xv.

(129) Fiech's Scholiast says (*num.* 10.) that St. German remained in Britain until he was informed, that his own city was infected with Pelagianism, and that he then returned to Gaul accompanied by St. Patrick as far as the city. William of Malmesbury writes (*De antiq. Glaston. Eccl. cap. de S. Pat.*) that St. German, after having settled the affairs of Britain, "inde in patriam meditatus reditum, Patricium ad *familiare contubernium* ascivit; eumdemque post *aliquot* annos Hiberniensibus, jubente Celestino papa, praedicatorem misit." As to *aliquot annos*, counting from A. D. 430 to 432, it cannot stand; but that writer knew so little of the chronology of those times, that he brings St. Patrick to Ireland in the year 425.

(130) See *Chap.* 1. §. xvi.

(131) The Bollandists (*Comment.* &c. §. 5.) say, that St. Patrick went to Rome A. D. 430, and, what indeed I did not expect to meet with, that he was at first repulsed by the Pope. They add that he then returned to St. German, by whom he was sent after Palladius' death to the same Pope Celestine, who a few days before his death in 432 entrusted him with the care of the Irish mission. The former part of this statement is in direct opposition to all the accounts, that we have of St. Patrick's transactions at Rome, except a garbled one in Fiech's Scholiast, (*num.* 13, 14) which is as follows: "Germanus autem Patricio ait; pergas ergo tu ad successorem S. Petri, nempe Celestinum, ut te ordinet, quia hoc munus ipsi incumbit. Venit ergo Patricius ad eum, et nec ei honorem dedit; quia ante misit Palladium in Hiberniam ut doceret eam." Then, after sending St. Patrick to the islands of the Etruscan sea, &c. they make him return to St. German and continue thus: "Misit ergo Germanus *denuo* Patricium ad Celestinum et Segestium cum eo—Postea intellexit Celestinus Palladium decessisse—Tunc ordinatus est Patricius in conspectu Celestini et Theodosii junioris regis mundi. Amatorex Antissiodorensis episcopus est qui eum ordinavit. Et Celestinus non vixit nisi una septimana post quam ordinatus est Patricius." This story of two applications of our saint to the Pope for the purpose of being employed on the Irish mission, which, as Colgan remarks, are not mentioned by any other writer, was evidently fabricated for the purpose of reconciling the account of St. Patrick having gone

to Rome, recommended by St. German, about the time that Palladius set out for Ireland, and not having been *then* or *there* consecrated bishop, with the other story of his having been consecrated at Rome by Celestine himself; for which latter part, however, the sapient Scholiast, finding it could not agree with other accounts, substituted his being consecrated only in the presence of Celestine. The Bollandists saw into the absurdity of some parts of that unchronological narrative, and accordingly placed the first application of our saint to the Pope after the nine years spent at Lerins, whence they make him go straight to Rome, as if St. German had nothing to do with that application, although the Scholiast tells us he had. They were aware, that a recommendation by St. German would not be slighted by the Pope. On the whole it is strange that they could have paid any attention to such stuff, in which Theodosius the younger, who never resided at Rome, and Amator of Auxerre, who was dead 14 years before, are placed in company with Celestine; particularly as they did not admit, that St. Patrick was consecrated at Rome.

(132) Instead of *Segetius* Probus calls him *Regirus*. This may be owing to an erratum of transcription, as all the other Lives have *Segetius* or *Segestius*. The Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 35.) makes him St. German's vicar in *spiritualibus*; and it would seem that he was a member of the clergy of Auxerre. I find a bishop of this name in Italy during the pontificate of Leo the great about A. D. 443. (Tillemont, *Tom.* xv. *p.* 424) Might he have been the same person? Or would it be reasonable to conjecture, that Segetius, when a priest, had been sent by Pope Celestine with letters to S. German relative to his proceeding to G. Britain, and that, after having been with him in that country, he, on his returning to Rome, was requested to take St. Patrick along with him and to introduce him to the Pope?

(133) There is not a word in any of the Lives of St. Patrick concerning his having been a Canon Regular of St. John Lateran; nor is even the name of that church mentioned in them. Dr. Ledwich therefore had no right to deduce, with an air of triumph, an objection from that ill founded statement of late invention against the history of our saint and his very existence. (*Antiq. of Ireland, p.* 372.) The poor Doctor did not know or did not wish to know, how this story originated. Let us then explain the

matter to him. We have seen above, (*Not.* 64) that the practice of part of the clergy of a diocese living in common with the bishop had been introduced in several churches at an early period. The name *Canonici* or *Canons*, although it had been given originally to all such clergymen as were in the Canon or roll of a church (Bingham *B.* 1. *ch.* 5. *sect.* 10.) became particularly appropriated to those only, who thus lived in a community, inasmuch as they were bound to observe certain canons or rules relative to the institution. (Fleury, *Instit. Part* 1. *ch.* 17.) This is not the place to inquire into the regulations made at various periods for the purpose of upholding that salutary discipline, such as those of Chrodegang bishop of Metz in the eighth century, of the council of Aix-la-chapelle A. D. 816; &c. It is sufficient to state that, in consequence of such enactments, those clergymen, who observed them, might have been called *Canonici regulares*, that is, observants of the rules, while those, who had renounced living in common, were called simply *Canonici*. According to this acceptation St. Patrick might be said to have been during part of his life a *Canon*, and even, should any one wish to add to the title, a *Canon regular* (although not of St. John Lateran); whereas the discipline, according to which he had lived both in St. Martin's college and in Lerins, was similar to that observed in the communities of Canons. But he could not by any means be called a Canon regular *of St. Augustin*; because no such description of Canons was known until the eleventh century, at which time some communities of clergymen adopted a sort of monastic rule, vulgarly attributed to St. Augustin, who, however, has left no rule except certain regulations which he had drawn up for the direction of a nunnery under the superintendence of his sister, and which have, with some necessary alterations, been applied to communities of men under the title of the *Rule of St. Augustin*. This new class of Canons regular adopted the practice of vows, yet retaining the privilege of forming diocesan chapters, and of being employed in the care of souls. They soon branched out into various subdivisions, such as Praemonstratenses, Trinitarians, &c. and became very numerous. We may judge of the number of their establishments in England from the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, the second volume of which is taken up with an account of them. In Ireland we had very few of them until

the arrival of the English. Alemand (*Hist. Monast. d'Irlande*) and after him Harris (*Antiq. of Ireland, ch.* 38) have been guilty of a huge mistake in classing such a multitude of our ancient monasteries under the head of *Canons regular of St. Augustin.* Since the eleventh century the name of *Canons regular* has been confined to these institutions alone, and as such they are usually spoken of in the Canon law, and alluded to by Canonists. Thus Gibert says (*Corpus Jur. Can. tit. XIII. reg.* 3.); "Tantum seculo XI. visi sunt primum Canonici regulares, sic vocati, quia religiosorum vota faciebant, et ea vitæ clericali adjiciebant" Of these Canons regular we shall have occasion to treat more largely hereafter. To return to what concerns St. Patrick, Gabriel Pennotus (*Hist. Can. Reg. lib.* 2. *c.* 34, 35.) and some other writers zealous for the honour of their institution have pretended, that our saint was a Canon regular, that is, of St. Augustin. But their claim has been strenuously opposed by several writers of the order of Augustinian hermits, more generally known by the single name of *Augustinians*, who maintain that he was one of themselves. Colgan has a whole dissertation on this contest, (*Tr. Th. p.* 237, *seqq.*) in which he states the arguments of both parties; and it is amusing enough to observe, with what sort of historical and critical skill the question has been handled, and how honest Colgan has endeavoured to accommodate matters between the disputants. Let it suffice here to remark, that both parties are in the wrong; the former for the reasons already assigned; and the latter for a reason equally powerful, *viz.* because the order of Augustinian hermits did not exist until about the beginning of the 13th century, when they appeared in Lombardy under the name of *Eremitæ fratris Joannis Boni, ordinis S. Augustini;* and afterwards became more generally known in consequence of the bulls concerning them of Gregory IX. and Alexander IV. both of whom lived in that century. I now conclude this long note with asserting, that St. Patrick was never a monk, properly so called, nor a Canon regular of St. Augustin, nor an Augustinian hermit.

(154) There were no Canons of any sort attached to the church of St. John Lateran until the time of Pope Gelasius, whose pontificate began A. D. 492. So Onuphrius Panvinius tells us (*Lib.* 2. *de Eccl. Later. c.* 3.) and adds, that they lived in common *ac-*

cording to the rule of St. Augustin. This might be understood as merely meaning, that they lived in a manner similar to that of St. Augustin's establishment, (see above *Not.* 64.) did he not elsewhere call them Canons Regular of St. Augustin; "Gelasius Canonicos, ut vocant, *Regulares ordinis Sti. Augustini* Laterani primus collocavit, qui ibidem usque ad Bonifacium VIII. a quo expulsi sunt, permanserunt. Ex Archivis basilicæ Lateranensis." *(Note to Platina's Life of Felix II. alias III. just before the Life of Gelasius.)* That learned man was certainly mistaken in this point; for the Canons *regular of St. Augustin* were for the first time placed in the Lateran church by Alexander II. (Fleury *Instit. Part* 1. *cap.* 22.) and, as Onuphrius himself marks in his Ecclesiastical chronology, in the year 1062, or as it would appear from Fleury, (*Hist. Eccl. L.* 61. §. 6.) in 1063.

(135) It is plain from the nature of the business, upon which St. Patrick went to Rome, that he was not regularly attached to the service of any church there; and that his stay was short can be easily collected from a comparison of dates. His arrival in that city could scarcely be previous to the year 431, and from the sequel it will appear that he left it in the course of said year or very early in the next. It is allowed on all hands, that his abode at Rome on the occasion we are now speaking of was not that, during which it has been said by some that he studied at Rome, nor that of his being a Canon of the Lateran church. Those, who admitted these stories, have looked out for another part of his life, to which these circumstances might be assigned. Usher has affixed to A. D. 402 St. Patrick's first journey to Rome (*Pr. p.* 790–835. and *Ind. Chron.*) and quotes some passages, in which it is stated that he spent a considerable time there, which Usher considered as part of the seven years mentioned by Tirechan as passed by the saint in the Gauls, Italy, and the islands. (See above *Not.* 85.) Tirechan, however, makes no mention of Rome. Colgan, notwithstanding certain difficulties, which he did not well know how to get over, has in substance followed Usher, placing St. Patrick's first arrival in Rome A. D. 403, and observing that he could not have remained there more than six years. (*Tr. Th. p.* 243.) This was in fact the only period, to which he or Usher could, in their hypothesis of our saint's having been born A. D. 372, or 373, assign those pretended studies at

Rome; for all the years from 409 to 432 were so taken up with other transactions, that no time could be found for them during this interval. But it happens unluckily for this system, that St. Patrick was, as has been shown, at the time guessed at for his Roman studies a captive in Ireland; nor had Usher, by whom Colgan was led astray, any ground for his calculations except the fables concerning our saint, when on his way to Rome, having met Kiaran of Saigir and Declan in Italy; which fables have been already exploded (*chap.* I.). Besides, there is not a word in any of the Lives of St. Patrick relative to those studies at Rome or his ever having been there until he went thither on the business of the Irish mission. As, however, it was stated in some of those Lives that he had been actually at Rome, and received the Pope's benediction, &c. this was amplified into his having remained there a considerable time for the sake of study. Yet Nennius is the only old writer, in whom we find this story, which, were it true, would certainly not have been omitted by all those, who had professedly undertaken to give an account of his life. The Bollandists, although they placed St. Patrick's birth ten years before the true time, did not, however, find room for those Roman studies, nor did they bring St. Patrick to Rome until A. D. 430. (See above *Not.* 131.) If it should be asked, whether he had been at Rome for any time ever so short before he went thither on the affair of the mission, I will answer that such a question is of no consequence, and that there is nothing to be met with in any of the Lives, which may lead us to think so. Were we indeed to follow the printed text of Probus, such a conclusion would seem to follow; for we read (*L.* 1. *c.* 20.) that he went to Rome and received the Pope's blessing; and then (*capp.* 21, 22.) it is stated that he remained a considerable time with St. German, who, when the proper time was arrived for his setting out for Ireland, sent with him the priest, whom he calls *Regirus*. (See *Not.* 132). But it is evident, that the text of Probus has in that part of the book been deranged (*Not.* 77.) and that what is found in *cap.* 20. ought to follow *cap.* 22. This is confirmed by what Probus has about that priest having been sent with our saint as a witness or voucher for his character. Was he to vouch for him to the people of Ireland, who knew less of that priest than of St. Patrick himself? And yet such would appear to be the meaning of Probus,

were we to adhere to the order of his text as printed; and we should also admit that, according to Probus, our saint was sent to Ireland not by the Pope but by St. German himself; for, as the text now stands, neither Rome nor Celestine is mentioned after what we find in *capp.* 21 and 22. The circumstance, however, of St. Patrick being said to have been accompanied by the priest, which, as we read in others of the Lives, was for the purpose of introducing him to the Pope, shows that Probus could not have meant what the text in its present state would seem to convey. If what Tirechan says about the saint having been not only in the islands but in Italy were true, we might suppose it probable that on some occasion or other he visited Rome, as other holy men used to do; but a visit is very different from a permanent residence.

§. XVI. The business upon which St. Patrick went to Rome, and what occurred in consequence, is very clearly and consistently stated by Erric of Auxerre and in some of the Lives, whence we learn that the saint, being approved of by the Pope, received his benediction, and was empowered by him to proceed to Ireland. (136) But they do not inform us, that he was consecrated bishop at Rome, while on the contrary in the greater part of the Lives his consecration is placed elsewhere, and after his departure from Rome, as will be seen lower down. It will also appear from the *Confession*, that he was consecrated not far from his own country, and, comparing the authorities furnished us in the Lives, in some part of the North-west of Gaul It is easy to account for his not having been made bishop at Rome; for Palladius was the person fixed upon as chief of the mission and as the bishop on that occasion; (137) nor was it or is it usual to send, on the commencement of a mission, more than one bishop to any one country, particularly of such small extent as Ireland. Thus Gregory the great appointed at first but one bishop, Augustin, for the mission of England. (138) The account of St. Patrick's consecra-

tion by Celestine is not to be met with in any of the Lives except those two compilations of all stories, *viz.* Jocelin's and the Tripartite ; (139) whence it made its way into some breviaries and other late documents. (140) It has been rejected not only by the Bollandists, but even by Colgan, who, while he holds that St. Patrick was *instituted* by Celestine, yet maintains that he was not *consecrated* by him nor at Rome, but somewhere not far from the part of the sea that separates France from Great Britain. (141) Instead of saying with Colgan that St. Patrick was *instituted* by the Pope, that is, qualified to be consecrated bishop, I think it more consistent to lay down, that he was appointed only principal assistant to Palladius ; a situation, which, although it entitled him to be raised to the episcopacy in case of Palladius' death, was not equivalent to episcopal institution. For it is not to be supposed that, while there was no necessity for his consecration, Palladius being the then bishop, the Pope would have instituted him and thus authorized him to get himself consecrated when and wherever he pleased even during the life-time of Palladius. I have no doubt that the Pope's intention was that, in case of the demise of Palladius, St. Patrick should succeed him ; and there can be no objection to our supposing, that this intention had been officially declared. All this, however, was not tantamount to actual institution. If it be asked, why St. Patrick did not set out for Ireland in company with Palladius, there are two answers at hand ; first, that it is very probable he did not arrive at Rome until after Palladius' departure ; and secondly, that, besides being detained at Rome by some details relative to the mission, he got leave to pay a visit to St. German and his relatives in Gaul, and to settle some domestic concerns before his parting from his friends, under, however, the obligation of repairing to Ireland as soon as he conveniently could.

(136) Erric writes (*De Vita &c. S. Germ. L.* 1. *c.* 12.); "Ad sanctum Celestinum urbis Romae Papam per Segetium presbyterum suum eum direxit (Germanus) qui viro praestantissimo probitatis ecclesiasticae testimonium apud sedem ferret apostolicam. Cujus judicio approbatus, auctoritate fultus, benedictione denique roboratus, Hiberniae partes expetiit." The fourth Life has (*cap.* 29.); "Misit ergo, ut praefati sumus, S. Germanus B. Patricium Romam, ut cum apostolicae sedis Episcopi licentia ad praedicationem exiret: ita enim ordo exigebat—Perveniente vero illo Romam, a sancto Papa Celestino honorifice est susceptus; et traditis sibi Sanctorum reliquiis ab eodem Papa Celestino in Hiberniam missus est." The third Life agrees in substance with the fourth, except that St. Patrick's consecration as bishop is placed before his arrival at Rome and his presenting himself before the Pope, which is contrary to all the other accounts, and is undoubtedly owing to a misplacement of the chapters, by making one the 24th, which ought to be the 26th. By what we find in these and other documents concerning the active part taken by St. German in procuring the appointment of St. Patrick for the Irish mission, we are to explain a passage of the old tract on the Liturgy, in which he is spoken of in general terms as having been constituted for that purpose by German and Lupus: "B. Patricium spiritaliter litteras sacras docuerunt (Germanus et Lupus) atque enutrierunt, et ipsum episcopum per eorum *praedicationem* archiepiscopum in Scotiis ac Britanniis posuerunt." This does not exclude his having been previously directed to Rome by *German* (for elsewhere we do not find that Lupus was concerned in this business) and chosen among others by Celestine through his recommendation. Perhaps the word *praedicationem* here signifies *commendation* or *praise* according to a truly classical acceptation, which we find in the best writers; as when Cicero says, *Virtutem alicujus optime praedicare.* Were we to interpret it *preaching*, how could it apply in this place? For no one could be appointed to any situation by mere preaching. The meaning of the passage may then be this, that, in consequence of those saints having recommended St. Patrick, he became at length a bishop or archbishop, and was employed in Ireland, &c. In a somewhat similar passage of William of Malmesbury quoted above (*Not.* 129.) Celestine is ex-

pressly mentioned as the person, by whose order German sent St. Patrick to Ireland.

(137) It is worth remarking, that this is the very reason assigned in some of the Lives for St. Patrick's not having been consecrated bishop sooner than he was. The Scholiast says that, when St. Patrick went to Rome on what he pretends was the first of two visits to that city (see above *Not.* 131.) the Pope refused to ordain him, *i. e.* bishop; and why? Because he had already appointed Palladius; "Nec ei *honorem dedit;* quia ante misit S. Palladium." The same reason is assigned, and in clearer terms by Probus (*L.* 1. *c.* 24.); "Necdum tamen vir Domini Patricius ad pontificalem gradum fuerat promotus; quod *ideo nimirum distulerat,* quia sciebat quod Palladius archidiaconus Celestini—*ordinatus* ab eodem Papa directus fuerat ad hanc insulam." And the second Life, in accounting for the delay with regard to St. Patrick's consecration, has (*cap.* 23.); "Certi etenim erant quoniam Palladius archidiaconus a Celestino Papa urbis Romæ—*ordinatus* et missus fuerat ad hanc insulam."

(138) Bede *Eccl. Hist. L.* 1. *c.* 27.

(139) See Jocelin *cap.* 25. and Tripartite, *L.* 1. *c.* 39. In the latter we have this pretty statement; Celestinus Papa coram S. Germano et Amato rege Romano eum (Patricium) ordinavit in episcopum, et Patricii insignivit nomine." St. German was certainly not at Rome in the year 432. And who was Amatus king of Rome? Something about Amator the predecessor of St. German was floating on the compiler's brain, and accordingly he patched up this neat piece of intelligence. From a similar source proceeded an equally ridiculous passage of the Scholiast. (Above *Not.* 131.)

(140) See Usher *p.* 841.

(141) To the authorities in favour of St. Patrick's consecration at Rome Colgan opposes the "*antiquiores actorum S. Patricii authores,*" viz. the authors of the second, third, and fourth Lives. He then sums up his conclusions in these words: "Ex adductis supra testimoniis infero sequentia corollaria. Primum; quod S. Patricius prius fuerit a sede Apostolica *institutus* episcopus, et destinatus ad conversionem Hiberniæ, quam in episcopum *consecratus.* Secundum; quod audita jam morte Palladii (qui anno 431 obiit) et per consequens anno ultimo Celestini (qui obiit anno 432 die sexto Aprilis) S. Patricius in episcopum consecratus et in Hiber-

niam missus fuerit. Ex quibus etiam refellitur placitum Malbranci asserentis ipsum anno 424 fuisse a Celestino ordinatum. Tertium; quod episcopus, qui ordinavit S. Patricium (sive Amathus, sive Amatorex vel Amator vocetur) non fuerit S. Amator antecessor S. Germani in sede Antissiodorensi; cum Amator Antissiodorensis obierit anno 418, die primo Maii—Quartum; si concedamus S. Patricium aliquandiu obivisse munus episcopale Bononiæ inter Morinos, antequam in Hibernia prædicaverit, minime tamen concedi posse, quod illud munus *pluribus* annis ibi exercuerit, ut contendit Malbrancus, sed solum aliquot *mensibus* anni 432, quo ordinatus et missus in Hiberniam." (*Tr. Th. p.* 253.) He then gives it as his opinion, that St. Patrick was consecrated somewhere in Belgium or in the neighbourhood of that country.

§. XVII. St. Patrick left Rome either late in the year 431 or early in 432. Were we to believe some late writers, he was accompanied by Germanus, Auxilius and Servinius, Canons of St. John Lateran. That there were no Canons of that church in those times, we have seen already. As to Germanus, he is not mentioned in any of the Lives as a travelling companion of our saint; and it is plain that a Germanus having been mentioned as such was owing to a misconception relative to the part, which St. German of Auxerre had acted for the purpose of having St. Patrick sent to Ireland. (142) The other two are very much spoken of in our church history under the names of *Auxilius* and *Iserninus*, or, as some call the latter, *Esserninus* or *Serenus*. They certainly were afterwards in Ireland with St. Patrick. It is stated in some of the Lives, that they were promoted to some degree of holy orders at the same time and in the same place that he was consecrated bishop. But whether they accompanied him from Rome, or were selected by him from among young clergymen of his acquaintance in Gaul cannot, as far as I know, be ascertained; particularly as there are reasons to doubt whether they came to Ireland with St. Patrick or rather some years later. (143)

Be this as it may for the present, and passing over some stories of Jocelin and others about the number of St. Patrick's companions, (144) we may assume as certain that our saint went to Auxerre to take his leave of St. German; (145) and next we find him in a town called Eboria or Eburia situated somewhere in the Northwest of Gaul. (146) Colgan has endeavoured (147) to find out this town in or near Belgium; but his conjectures do not agree either with the names of places or with the situations of them. His thinking that it was the same as Boulogne might do very well, were there not too great a difference between the names *Eboria* and *Bononia*. Nor can his other conjecture of its having been in the country of the Eburones, now called the territory of Liege, be admitted; whereas, besides there having been no town there of that name, (148) the direction, in which it lies, would not have answered for a tour from Auxerre towards Great Britain. It was probably Evreux in Normandy; for the name *Ebroica*, (149) one of those by which it has been known, differs but little from *Eboria*. Evreux is near enough to the sea to agree with what is said of St. Patrick's having soon after his being there embarked for Great Britain, if we suppose that he took shipping at the mouth of the Seine; which is not improbable, considering his wish to hasten his arrival in Ireland as much as possible (150)

(142) The name of this Germanus was, as Usher conjectures, first introduced by that mighty historian Vincent of Beauvais, who in some part of his *Speculum Historiale* has; "Mittitur cum Germano Patricius, et Hiberniis episcopus ordinatur." Poor Vincent perhaps meant the great St. German; but we know, that he was not sent with St. Patrick. Usher seemed inclined to think, that a Germanus, who is said to have been made bishop of the Isle of Man, might have accompanied him. (See *Pr. p.* 842.) But it will be seen elsewhere, that there was no such person.

(143) See Usher *p.* 842 and Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 19.

(144) Jocelin says (*cap.* 26.) that he was accompanied all the

way from Rome by 20 men distinguished for their morals and wisdom. The third Life (*cap.* 27.) and Usher's Tripartite give him 24 companions, and others raise the number to 34, partly it seems from Rome, and partly picked up elsewhere. (See *Pr. p.* 845.) Such a huge number of missionaries at one stroke was never heard of before nor since. Not to mention the expense of conveying and maintaining such a caravan, why did not those story-tellers reflect that, if St. Patrick were to appear in Ireland with such a host of foreigners, and particularly Romans, he and the whole of them would have been driven immediately out of the country?

(145) It would be unnecessary to look for authorities in proof of a circumstance so natural, especially as Auxerre lay in the very track of our saint's journey. On this subject we may safely believe what Jocelin tells us (*cap.* 26.): "Versus Hiberniam—regressum maturavit. Divertit autem ad B. Germanum nutritorem et eruditorem suum; ex cujus munere accepit calices et vestimenta sacerdotalia, copiam codicum et alia quæ pertinent ad cultum et ministerium ecclesiasticum."

(146) That Eboria was in that part of the Gauls is evident from the concurrent testimonies of Probus and the second and fourth Lives, in which it is spoken of as not far from the port, at which St. Patrick embarked for Great Britain. The Bollandists well knowing, that it must have been in the continent, have by a strange conjecture, for which they had no foundation except a certain similarity of name, converted Eboria into Eporedia, now Ivréa in Piedmont. (*Comment.* &c. *ad V. S. P.* §. 5.) Could Ivréa be said to be near a port, whence one could sail for Great Britain after having been at Auxerre?

(147) *Tr. Th. p.* 254.

(148) The Eburones are mentioned by Cæsar, *De Bel. Gall. L.* 2. §. 4. *L.* 6. §. 31. and elsewhere. In his time they had a town named Atuatuca. Afterwards their chief town was Tongern, so called from *Tongri*, which was another name of the tribe. (Cellarius, *Geogr. Ant. L.* 2. *c.* 3.)

(149) The people of the district, in which Evreux is situated, are called by Cæsar (*L.* 3. §. 15.) Aulerci *Eburovices*. In Peutinger's table and Antoninus' Itinerary from Rouen to Paris their town is called *Mediolanum Aulerorum*. Afterwards it went by the name of *Civitas Ebroicorum*, then *Ebroica*, and so on until the

name was frenchified into *Evreux*. See Cellarius, *L. 2. c. 2.* and Hadr. Vales. *Not. Gall.* at *Aulerci Eburovices.*

(150) It may be objected that, if St. Patrick embarked at the mouth of the Seine, he would have lost the opportunity of seeing his relatives at or near Boulogne before his final departure from his country. To this we may answer that, on his going to Rome he most probably knew that he would be certainly sent to Ireland, and accordingly might have taken his last leave of his friends before he set out on that journey. And for reasons, which will be seen below, (*Not.* 161) he might have wished not to go again to Boulogne. Besides who knows but he had relatives also at Evreux? In the territory of that city there was a town called *Conchæ*, now *Conches*; and, however bold the conjecture may appear, yet it is not unreasonable to suspect, that his mother, who was called *Conchessa*, might have got that name from having been a native of Conchæ.

§. XVIII. While our saint was still in that place, Augustin, Benedict, and some others, who had left Ireland with Palladius, came to him and announced to him the death of the latter in Britain. (151) Hence it appears, that they were already apprized of St. Patrick's having been appointed to the Irish mission and next in rank to Palladius. On receiving this information it became requisite for St. Patrick to be consecrated, as the mission could not go on without a bishop, nor were there any bishops then in Ireland. (152) For this purpose he applied to a venerable prelate, who lived in the neighbourhood of Eboria, and from him received episcopal consecration. (153) Probus says this prelate's name was Amator, while by others he is called Amatorex, (154) Amathaeus, Amatus, &c. (155) It is probable that those writers had in view Amator bishop of Auxerre, and that they might have confounded St. Patrick's ordination as priest with his consecration as bishop. (156) But, as he was dead 14 years before the time we are treating of, he could not have been the bishop, by whom our saint was consecrated. (157) Nor do we find any Gal-

lican prelate, living at that time, named *Amator* or *Amatus*. The venerable St. Amandus of Bourdeaux, who succeeded Delphinus about A. D. 404, was still alive in the year 432, having survived St. Paulinus of Nola, who died in the year 431. (158) The name *Amandus* might have been easily changed into *Amatus*, *Amathaeus*, or *Amator*. The description given by Probus and others of the consecrator of St. Patrick corresponds very well with what we know of St. Amandus. For they represent him as an *archbishop*,, and a man of extraordinary sanctity. The chief and perhaps only difficulty that occurs against supposing that St. Amandus was the prelate alluded to by these writers is, that Bourdeaux was too far out of the track of St. Patrick's journey towards Great Britain. To this it may be answered, that St. Amandus, of whose proceedings we know little or nothing after about the year 408, might, in consequence of the troubles caused by the irruption of the Goths, the devastation of Bourdeaux in the year 414 or 415, and the final occupation of that city by them in 418 or 419, (159) have been obliged to quit his diocese and to take shelter in some part of the Gauls not subject to that nation. About the very time, that St. Patrick was on his way towards Ireland, the southern provinces of that country were harrassed by wars between the Romans and the Goths. The want of information concerning the transactions of the last years of St. Amandus' life and even the time of his death seems to lead to a conclusion, that he had retired into some solitary place, such as Probus and others hint at by giving us to understand, that the consecrator of St. Patrick lived in the country. Add to this, that no account remains of any archbishop of Bourdeaux between him and Gallicinus, who held that see about the year 474. (160) If, however, St. Amandus was not the prelate sought for, our not being able to decide who Amator might have been does not invalidate the truth of the transaction, it being well

known that the history of the Gallican prelates of those days is very imperfect, and that the names of many of them are sunk in oblivion. We have an instance of this in the case just referred to of Gallicinus being the next mentioned as archbishop of Bourdeaux after St. Amandus.

(151) Probus has (*L.* 1. *c.* 25.); "Audientes itaque de morte Palladii archidiaconi, discipuli illius, qui erant in Britanniis, id est, Augustinus, Benedictus, et cæteri venerunt ad St. Patricium in Euboriam, et mortem Palladii ei denunciabant." The second Life (*cap.* 26.) and the fourth (*cap.* 31.) give the same account, and nearly in the same words. Harris, although he had the works now quoted before his eyes, yet has fabricated a quite different account of the matter; and tells us (*Bishops p.* 11.) that, "as Palladius died among St. Patrick's relations, it was easy for him to hear of his death, which he soon did." He adds, that the saint was then at Auxerre. What stuff, invented to keep up the story of St. Patrick's having been a native of North Britain! Even had he been such, what right had Harris to say, that Palladius died among his relations? For Kilpatrick, where Harris pretends that St. Patrick was born, is at a great distance from Fordun, where Palladius died. (See *Chap.* 1. *not.* 149.) And what relatives could St. Patrick, who was born in a Roman province, have among the Picts? As to his having got that news at Auxerre, it is not worth arguing against; unless one would say that Eboria and Auxerre were the same place; which, independently of the great difference of the names, would be in direct opposition to Probus and the other writers, who often mention Auxerre under its own name of *Antissiodorum*.

(152) See *Chap.* 1.

(153) Probus after the words cited (*Not.* 151.) immediately subjoins; "Patricius autem et qui cum eo erant declinaverunt iter ad quemdam mirae sanctitatis hominem summum episcopum *Amatorem* nomine, in propinquo loco habitantem; ubi S. Patricius, sciens quæ superventura essent illi, episcopali gradu ab eodem archipraesule Amatore sublimatus est." The second and fourth Lives (*locc. citt.*) agree with Probus almost word for word; and the third Life has the same in substance, *cap.* 24. Notwith-

standing these explicit testimonies, some of the writers, who hold that St. Patrick was consecrated at Rome, pretend that he went thither *after* he had heard of the death of Palladius. Usher, who took the lead on this point, (see *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 432) has been followed by Harris, and others. The Bollandists also, though they admit that St. Patrick was not consecrated at Rome, yet send him to that city after the death of Palladius, that is, according to them, on a second expedition (above *Not.* 131). The whole of this hypothesis was framed for the purpose of explaining how it came to pass, that St. Patrick was appointed head of the Irish mission after Palladius. But had it been considered, that the whole business had been arranged at Rome before the departure of Palladius, and that due provision had been made for supplying his place in case of any untoward accident, those writers would not have placed themselves in direct opposition to Probus and the above quoted Lives, without being able to produce from any other a single passage in favour of their system. For even the Scholiast does not say, that St. Patrick before his *second* going to Rome had heard of Palladius' death, but merely that, while he was there, the Pope had got an account of it. (See *Not.* 131.) And this is likewise all that Jocelin (*cap.* 25.) and the Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 39.) have on the subject. Usher's hypothesis has given rise to a very serious objection, and I allow, very hard to answer on his principles, against the mission of St. Patrick by Pope Celestine. It is this. Palladius arrived in Ireland A. D. 431, and remained there until about the end of said year. (See *Chap.* 1. §. XVI.) Between his departure from Ireland and arrival at Fordun some not very short time must have intervened, probably three weeks or a month. How long he stayed at Fordun we do not know, but there is no reason to make us think, that he died as soon as he reached that place. It is altogether most likely, that he lived until some time in the year 432. Then we must allow some weeks to have passed between the day of his death and the time, at which news of it was announced to St. Patrick at Eboria in Gaul or at Auxerre, as some of those writers would have it. For besides some delay, which it is reasonable to suppose Palladius' companions made at Fordun after his death, it is to be observed that the distance between it and the part of Gaul, where St. Patrick then was, is very consider-

able, and that in those days there was neither post-travelling nor fast-sailing packet boats. On the whole I think it must be admitted, that our saint could not have heard of Palladius' death until about the latter end of February or the beginning of March A. D. 432. How then can we account for a journey of his to Rome and his arriving there in due time to be consecrated, or even to receive powers relative to the mission from Pope Celestine, who died on the sixth of April in that year? To obviate this objection Usher says, that Bale or Balaeus (*Centur.* 14.) assigns the death of Palladius to the 15th of December. Harris (*Bishops p.* 11.) and O'Flaherty (*Ogygia vind. ch.* 16.) have greedily seized on this date. Now admitting it, no small difficulty still remains. For in all probability St. Patrick, whether at Auxerre or elsewhere in Gaul, could not get the account of it until about a month after; accordingly his preparations for going to Rome, the journey thither, and his proceeding there must be all crammed into the time that elapsed between the middle of January and the latter end of March; I say *the latter end of March*, whereas we are not to suppose, that the Pope could attend to business until the very day of his death. The fact however is, that Palladius did not die as soon as that despicable scribbler has stated; for the Anglican Martyrology and Ferrarius, much better authorities than Bale, place his natalis, or exit from this world, on the 27th of January. (P. Ferrar. *Catal. &c. at said day*, and Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 18.) As to what some have said of his having died on the 6th July, that is A. D. 432 (for it would be absurd to assign it to A. D. 431 the year of Palladius' departure from Rome for Ireland) this date would be still more contrary to Usher's calculations; but there are much better reasons for affixing Palladius' death to January 27. The short way to get rid of these difficulties is to reject the whole of Usher's hypothesis, as indeed we must in conformity with all the old Lives of St. Patrick. I have dwelt thus much on this subject, merely to show the futility of the objection now discussed, and which has been so often brought forward by persons not acquainted with the true history of our saint.

(154) Second Life, *cap.* 26; Third, *cap.* 24. Fourth, *cap.* 31. &c.

(155) See Usher *p.* 839. (156) See above *Not.* 75.

(157) Baronius fell into this mistake (*in Martyrol. Roman. Mai.* 1.) Pagi in his strictures on the Annals of Baronius (*Critica, &c. ad A.* 431.) throws out a conjecture almost equally inadmissible. Having found an Amator bishop of Autun, of whom the Sammarthani make mention (in the *Gallia Christiana*) about the year 314, he thought he might have been the consecrator of St. Patrick, and that accordingly this Amator was not as ancient as is commonly supposed. But, not to enlarge on the awkwardness of making a huge leap of above 100 years on no other foundation than a mere coincidence of names, Autun is not so situated as to allow us to look for Eboria in its neighbourhood. Instead of lying between Auxerre and the Ocean, it is between that city and Rome. Now, supposing even that it was on his way from Rome to Auxerre that St. Patrick got the account of Palladius' death, and supposing him to be then near Autun, who does not see that he would have pushed forward to Auxerre to be there consecrated by his friend St. German, rather than stop at Autun, which is not very far distant from it?

(158) Sammarthan. *Gallia Christiana, Tom.* 2. *col.* 789, 790. It is there added, that he was perhaps the Amandus, who subscribed the synodical epistle of the Gallican bishops to Pope Leo, *A.* 451.

(159) Tillemont having touched on these transactions makes the following remark; "Il ne faut pas s'etonner si parmi tant de troubles il ne s'est rien conservé des actions de S. Amand." *Memoires, &c. Tom.* x. *Art. S. Amand.*

(160) Tillemont, *ib.* It is related by Gregory of Tours, that St. Amandus gave up his see for some years to a St. Severinus. If so, might not the year 432 have been one of them, and spent by him in retirement?

§. XIX. On the occasion of St. Patrick being about to be consecrated bishop, a person, who had been a friend of his, publicly announced a fault, which the saint had been guilty of when a boy, and of which we have already seen an account in this chapter. This friend's object seems to have been to prevent St. Patrick from going to Ireland and quitting his own country for ever. For this purpose he did not scru-

ple to denounce him as unworthy of being promoted to the episcopacy, expecting that thereby he would be obliged to remain among his relatives and friends, who were very anxious on this subject, and not only besought him with tears in their eyes not to quit them, but even offered him many presents to induce him to remain. (161) These persuasives failing, recourse was had to the desperate shift of endeavouring to excite a prejudice against him in the mind of the consecrating bishop. But all these maneuvres were of no avail; for the Lord was with him and enabled him to surmount every difficulty. (162) From what we have now seen, it is evident, as Tillemont has properly observed, (163) that St. Patrick was consecrated in his own country, by which we are not to understand his mere native town, but some place not very far from which his relatives and old friends and acquaintances resided. This is an additional proof, that he was not consecrated at Rome. It is also an invincible proof, that he was a native of the Continent, and precisely of some part of the N. West of the country now called France; (164) nothing being better ascertained than that he was consecrated bishop before he embarked at some Gallic port for G. Britain. If the neighbourhood of Evreux was the place of his consecration, there is nothing to prevent our supposing that he had relatives in that part of Gaul; (165) and, as to his paternal connexions at Boulogne, it will not be denied that some of them, on hearing that he was at Evreux, might have repaired thither with a view of endeavouring to put a stop to his going to Ireland. And here it may be allowed to observe, that St. Patrick's not making the route by Boulogne his way to G. Britain might have been owing in some measure to his wish to avoid the importunities of his relatives, whom he had already found so much opposed to his determination.

(161) "Sed ut Patriam et parentes amitterem; et munera mul-

ta mihi offerebantur, cum fletu et lachrymis, et offendi illos, necnon contra votum aliquantis de *senioribus meis*. Sed, gubernante Deo, nullo modo consensi, neque adquievi illis, non mea gratia, sed Deus qui vicit in me, et restitit illis omnibus, ut ego venirem ad Hibernas gentes Evangelium praedicare." *Confess. p.* 14. The *seniores*, whom he mentions, were apparently his elder relatives and friends. He uses the same term, where he speaks of the charge brought against him by the former friend, whom he reckons among them. " Et quando temptatus sum ab aliquantis *senioribus meis*, qui venerunt, et peccata mea (divulgaverunt) contra laboriosum episcopatum meum—adversus verbum quod confessus fueram antequam essem diaconus, propter anxietatem moesto animo insinuavi amicissimo meo, quae in pueritia," &c. *Ib. p.* 10. Tillemont's conjecture (*Mem. Tom.* XVI. *p.* 459.) that by *seniores* he meant *priests* agrees with neither the context, which plainly shows, that under at least a part of these *seniores* he comprized some of his relatives, nor with his using the word *presbyter*, wherever he talks of a priest. Besides, it would be very aukward for a person, while as yet only a priest himself, to use the phrase *my priests*.

(162) See above *Not.* 16.

(163) *Mem. Tom.* XVI. *p.* 458. He adds (*p.* 783.) *and that country G. Britain.* In this point Tillemont followed the current opinion of his day, having relied on Usher and the Bollandists; without paying any attention to Probus and the other Lives, several of which he appears never to have looked into.

(164) Compare with *Not.* 141. (165) See *Not.* 150.

§. XX. It is related, that Auxilius, Iserninus and some others received certain clerical orders on the same day that St. Patrick was consecrated, and from the same bishop. (166) These persons are spoken of as companions of his on the affair of the mission. (167) Every thing being thus arranged, St. Patrick soon after embarked, probably at the mouth of the Seine, and had a prosperous passage to G. Britain. According to Probus and some of the Lives he crossed that country without stopping on the way, and hastened his course until he arrived in Ireland. (168) Yet some writers pretend, that he preached for some

days in G. Britain, (169) and it is added that he spent some time in the neighbourhood of Menevia, or, as it is now called, St. David's in Wales. (170) As these subjects are of little consequence, it is unnecessary to enter into any further discussion about them. (171)

(166) The second Life has (*cap.* 26.); "Sed etiam Auxilius et Serenus (Iserninus), et caeteri inferioris gradus, ordinati sunt eodem die, quo sanctus Patricius." The fourth Life (*cap.* 31.) has nearly the same words. Probus, (*L.* 1. *c.* 25.) without giving their names writes; "Sed et alii nonnulli clerici ad officium inferioris gradus ordinati sunt." Nennius seems to say, that Auxilius was then ordained priest and Iserninus deacon. Whence he got this information I do not know; nor is the matter worth inquiring into.

(167) See above §. XVII.

(168) Tunc venerabilis sacerdos Domini Patricius navem celeriter ascendit, et pervenit in Britanniam, *omissisque omnibus ambulandi anfractibus cum omni velocitate*, prospero fluctu mare nostrum in nomine S. Trinitatis adiit." Probus *L.* 1. *c.* 25. Second Life, *cap.* 26. &c.

(169) Nennius in a passage, almost word for word the same with that just quoted from Probus, throws in this addition; "Et praedicavit ibi (in Britannia) *non multis* diebus." In the chronicle of Matth. Florilegus the *not many* days of Nennius have been changed into *many*. See Usher, *p.* 839, 843.

(170) Usher, *p.* 843. *seqq.* (171) See above §. XIV. and *Not.* 125.

CHAPTER V.

St. Patrick's arrival on his mission A. D. 432. Landed somewhere in Leinster—After a short time goes to E. Ulster—His proceedings there—Returning thence goes to Meath—His reception there by the king Leogaire and others—His transactions in various parts of that province—Proceeds to Connaught, where in the course of several years he converted a vast number of persons—Termination of his mission in that part of Ireland.

SECT. I.

At length we are come to St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland, which was in the year 432. (1) Pope Celestine was already dead; for the Irish Annals, (2) in marking the date of this event, add, that it took place in the first year of the Pontificate of Sixtus, *viz.* Sixtus the third, who, after a vacancy of 21 days, was raised to the Papal chair on the 28th of April in the same year. Hence it appears, that our saint did not land in Ireland until some time after that day. The place, where he landed, is generally supposed to have been what is now called Wicklow; for Probus tells us that it was a harbour, then very famous among the Irish, in the country of the Evoleni, which country or district, according to Colgan and other antiquaries, was a maritime tract of the present county of Wicklow. (3) Other writers call St. Patrick's landing place *Inbher-de*, that is, the mouth of a river De or Dee, (4) which those, who hold that our saint landed at Wicklow, tell us was the ancient name of its little river now called *Leitrim*. (5) St. Patrick having landed went to a place in the neighbourhood called *Anat-cailtrin*, where he was repulsed by the natives and obliged to go again on board the ship.

(6) This repulse has been stated as proceeding from Nathi Hua-Garrchon, who had already opposed Palladius. (7) There are, however, very good reasons to doubt whether Nathi had any thing to do with this affair, particularly as we have but very slender authority for it, (8) nor is Nathi spoken of on this occasion in the greatest part of the Lives. And it is not very likely, that St. Patrick would have preferred landing in the district belonging to a chief, who had declared himself so hostile to the Christian religion. What follows, on the same authority, concerning Sinell, a Leinster man, the son or rather grandson of Finchada, having been the first convert and the first person baptized in Ireland by our Apostle, (9) is not less doubtful. For, besides that Sinell is stated to have lived until A. D. 549 (10) and accordingly could not have been, in 432, of an age sufficient to become a convert, Probus and others Lives inform us, that Dichu, a native of Ulster, was the first person converted in Ireland by St. Patrick; and it is more than probable, that what has been said about Sinell originated in provincial pride and rivalry. After St. Patrick's leaving Aonach Tailten, or rather Anat-caltrain, Usher's Tripartite sends him to a place called *Rath-inbher*, so called from having been a castle near the mouth of a river. Usher threw out a conjecture (11) that this place might have been the same as Old-court near Bray at the mouth of its little river, and has been followed by Harris and others, as if it were almost certain. But that name would answer equally well for a place near the mouth of any river, and, considering the circumstances of the narrative, better for the neighbourhood of the river, at which our saint landed, than of any other. Jocelin relates, that from Anat-cailtrin St. Patrick turned off towards a small island not far from the shore since called St. Patrick's island. (12) If this statement be correct, it will follow that Anat-cailtrin was in the tract extending from Dublin to

Skerries, near which is that small island now called Holm-patrick. It will also follow that Inbher-dee must be looked for somewhere in the bay of Dublin, or between it and Skerries. (13) Another account, without mentioning Anat-cailtrin, states that St. Patrick, after the opposition he had met with, returned to the ship which had brought him to Ireland, and then turning to the left, that is, to the North, with an intention of proceeding to Ulster, and sailing along the coast of the Bregenses, put in at Holm-patrick, (14) where he remained for some time. Probus, who makes no mention of the opposition made to our Apostle, or of his having put in at Holm-patrick, agrees with the other Lives in stating, that his reason for going forthwith to Ulster was to pay a visit to his former master Milcho, and to endeavour to bring him over to the Christian faith. (15)

(1) It would be a waste of time to adduce proofs of this being the true date; for, besides its being the only one that can agree with what we have seen about Prosper's mission, Pope Celestine, &c. it is laid down in our best Irish Annals. As to what some writers have said to the contrary, it is easy to show, that they were mistaken. Thus the date A. D. 425 assigned by Wm. of Malmesbury (See *ch.* IV. *not.* 129) and copied from him by Stanihurst, Alford, Cressy, and others, is strangely erroneous; for, in that case, St. Patrick would have been in Ireland five or six years before Palladius. Tillemont went to an opposite extreme; (*Mem. Tom.* XVI. *p.* 784.) and it is strange, that he could have fallen into such a mistake. He thought that St. Patrick's mission could not have commenced before A. D. 440. One of his arguments is that, as Palladius did not arrive in Ireland until A. D. 431, some years should be allowed for his mission, which, as it would appear from Prosper, was attended with some good effects. For a full and satisfactory answer to this argument I beg to refer the reader to *Chap.* I. and *ib. notes* 144, 145. His other argument is that, considering the short time, that intervened between Palladius' arrival in Ireland and the death of Celestine, it was impossible that St. Patrick could have been appointed by *that* Pope as his successor for the Irish mission. This difficulty, which, by the bye,

should not have induced Tillemont to go as low down as the year 440, has been already solved by what is stated and discussed at full length in the preceding chapter, and particularly in *note* 153.

(2) Annals of Ulster, Innisfallen, and the 4 Masters. See Usher *p.* 1046, and Colgan *Tr. Th.. p.* 254.

(3) Probus writes (*L.* 1. *c.* 27.); "Consummato igitur navigio ac labore S. Patricius—in optatum portum regionis Evolenorum, utique apud nos *clarissimum*, delatus est." Colgan in a note says, that for *Evolenorum* we must read *Cuolenorum*, that is, the tract called in Irish *Criuch-cuollan*, whence he concludes, that the harbour was that of Kilmantan now called Wicklow. (See also Usher, *p.* 845.) If *Cuolenorum* be the true reading, Usher's and Colgan's corollary will naturally follow; but I confess I have some doubts on this subject; for it is not easy to admit that the harbour of Wicklow could at any time be very famous, *clarissimus*, considering not only how badly situated that place is for trade with the interior of Ireland, but likewise the badness of the harbour, which is fit only for small vessels. And if we retain *Evolenorum*, which I find no sufficient reason for rejecting, we may suppose that Probus meant the harbour of Dublin, *i. e.* the portum *Eblanorum* of Ptolemy. Between the two names (*b* and *v* being commutable) the difference is very small; and the harbour of Dublin was very celebrated, at least in Probus' time, the Danes being then in possession of it.

(4) Third Life, *cap.* 28.—Jocelin, *cap.* 29. In second Life, *cap.* 25, *Deac.*

(5) See Harris, *Bishops p.* 11. Colgan says, that the real name of that harbour was *Inbher-Dagadh*, from a prince of that name, who had been drowned there. (*Tr. Th. p.* 109.)

(6) Third Life, *cap.* 29. Jocelin (*cap.* 30.) has *Aonach-Tailtèn*, mistaking a place in the interior of the county of Meath, where solemn sports used to be held, and thence called Aonach Tailten or the *sports of Tailten*, (Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 31. *not.* 43. and Seward at *Tailten*) for *Anat-cailtrin*, which was near the sea. In the same third Life both places are well distinguished; for in the chapter now quoted Anat-cailtrin is said to have been overflown by the sea, while in the 43d chapter mention is made of the place of royal sports, *qui dicitur Tailtin*. I cannot but think

that Tailten or Tailtin was situated at or near the place now corruptly called Teltown in the barony of Kells.

(7) See above, *Chap.* I. §. XVI. Nathi's opposition to St. Patrick is mentioned in the second Life, *cap.* 25, and in the Tripartite *L.* 1. *c.* 42. The old tract, quoted by Usher (*p.* 846.) on the same subject, and on what follows about Sinell, was in all likelihood one of the two works now referred to; for the words of the whole passage are almost exactly the same. This passage, as it appears in the second Life, is evidently an interpolation, as it not only breaks the thread of the narrative, but is directly contrary to circumstances related in the 28th and 29th chapters of said Life. Even as it is found in the Tripartite, it smells strongly of interpolation, and has all the appearance of a note, that had crept into the text. It is also to be remarked, that the opposition made by Nathi to St. Patrick is in this work related immediately after that of the people, who lived near Inbher-de, and as distinct from it.

(8) See *Not. prec.*

(9) The Tripartite adds to what we have seen about Nathi, "Sinell vero *filius* Finnchadha per praedicationem S. Patricii omnipotenti Deo credidit, et a S. Patricio primus ex gente Scotorum baptizatus fuit; et sibi et semini ejus benedixit vir sanctus." Colgan gives us (*Tr. Th. p.* 18.) a genealogy of Sinell, whence it appears that he was grandson of Finchada and eighth in descent from Corbmac Cucorb king of Leinster, and says that he was surnamed the *elder*. The Bollandists have, with regard to Sinell, followed the Tripartite.

(10) To that year (*alias* 518) is assigned the death of Sinell, *alias* Senchell, the *elder* in the Annals of the 4 Masters. See *Tr. Th. p.* 188. *no.* 120, and his Life *AA. SS.* at 26 *Mart.* in which there is nothing about his having been converted by St. Patrick.

(11) *Pr. p.* 846.

(12) Jocelin *cap.* 30. For *Aonach-Tailten* of his text I read *Auat-cailtrin*. See *Not.* 6.

(13) Since the occupation of all that coast by the Danes or Fingalls it is no wonder, that almost all the old names have been lost.

(14) "Unde navem denuo ingressus dedit vela ventis et, juxta fines Bregensium ad sinistram flectens, dirigit in Ultoniam—In via autem—declinavit ad quamdam parvulam insulam," &c. (Tripart.

L. 1. *c.* 44.) The country of the Bregenses or Bregii was between Dublin and Drogheda. (Colgan *Tr. Th. Ind. Topogr.* at *Bregae.)* If Wicklow was the port of St. Patrick's arrival and accordingly that whence he set sail for Ulster, would the coast of the Bregenses be thus the first spoken of, without any mention of the coast southward between them and Wicklow? Our saint's stopping for a while in Holmpatrick is mentioned also in the second Life *cap.* 28, and in the fourth, *cap.* 32. In both of them the district of the Bregenses is the first referred to as to St. Patrick's course towards Ulster.

(15) Probus, *L.* 1. *c.* 27. Second Life, *cap.* 28. Third, *cap.* 30. Fourth, *cap.* 32. &c.

§. II. St. Patrick, then continuing his course, arrived with his companions at a port in the district now called the barony of Lecale in the county of Down. (16) Having landed, and gone a little way into the adjacent country to rest themselves and deposit their luggage, they were met by a herd in the service of the lord of the district, whose name was Dichu or Dicho. Thinking they were robbers, he ran to give information to his master, who immediately came up with an armed force for the purpose of exterminating them. Dicho, however, on seeing St. Patrick was so struck with his appearance that, being also internally moved by the Almighty, he brought the whole party to his house, which was at the place now called *Saul.* There the saint had an opportunity of announcing to him the Christian faith, and, through the mercy of God, Dicho became a believer and was baptized, being the first person converted by St. Patrick in Ireland. All his family followed his example and likewise became Christians. (17) It was, if we are to believe some of the Lives, on this occasion that the celebrated church or chapel, called *Sabhall Padruic,* or *Patrick's barn,* as Probus interprets it, (18) was erected. (19) We are told that, in compliance with Dicho's wish, it was, contrary to the usual practice, con-

structed in a direction from North to South. The reason assigned for its being called a *barn* is, that it was built according to the form and position of Dicho's barn; but I should rather think that it was originally nothing else than a real barn belonging to Dicho, in which St. Patrick celebrated divine worship, in the same manner as even in our own times barns have been used in Ireland for the same purpose. This barn was probably thenceforth applied to religious objects. It was certainly, as will be seen, a favourite retreat of our Apostle. On the site of it a regular church and monastery were erected, but not as early as the time we are now treating of. That this barn was presented to St. Patrick by Dicho as a place for religious exercises, and for the accommodation of himself and other pious persons, I see no reason for doubting; but what is added concerning Dicho's having annexed, by donation, lands for the support of an ecclesiastical establishment there accords neither with the system followed by St. Patrick, (20) nor with the practice of the religious men of those days, who, instead of being endowed with estates, earned their scanty meals with the labour of their hands. The most that may be allowed is, that he accepted of a small field or spot of ground annexed to the barn; and in fact it is thus that the matter is represented in some of the Lives. (21)

(16) There have been some doubts concerning the part of Lecale, and the port at which St. Patrick landed. Harris says it was the bay of Dundrum; but it is much more probable that it was at or near Strangford. The part of the sea near where he landed is called a *fretum* or streights, and the place of landing is represented as being very near *Sabhall Padruic* or, as it is now called, *Saul*. These circumstances agree much better with Strangford bay and lough than with any part of the bay of Dundrum. In the second Life we read (*cap.* 29); "In quoddam *fretum*, quod est *Brennese*, se immisit (Patricius) et ad terram descendit ad *ostium Slain*." The third Life has (*cap.* 33.) nearly the same

words and, instead of *Brennese*, reads *Brenasse*. The Tripartite states the whole matter thus: "Appulit in portu de *Inbher Slainge*. Ibique e navi ipsi et socii egressi defessos artus somno et quiete in loco postea *Sabhall Padruic* appellato reficiunt." (*L.* 1. *c.* 47.) Colgan says that the *fretum Brennese* was the same as Lough Cuana, that is, the lake of Strangford; although he adds that it was perhaps part of the bay of Dundrum. This conjecture will not suit what is stated of its proximity to Saul. As to Inbher Slainge, *the mouth of the Slainge or Slain*, Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 19.) endeavours to account for the name by telling us, that Slieve-donard, the highest of the mountains of Mourne, was anciently called *Slainge*, and that thence, perhaps, the name was extended to the bay of Dundrum, which is adjacent to a part of those mountains. But it is plain that *Slainge*, as connected with *Inbher*, must mean a body of water, and the question then arises, where it is to be found. Harris cuts the difficulty short by giving us a river *Slaing* or *Slain*, which, he says, falls into the North end of the bay of Dundrum. I cannot find a river so called in that or any other part of the county of Down, and I am very much inclined to think that Slainge is the same as Strangford lough, or probably a part of it; and that the name *Strangford* does not mean, as Seward supposes, *strong* ford, alluluding to the rapidity of the current in the bay; for, were this the origin of the name, it should have been called *Strangbay*, not *Strangford*. And it is more natural to admit, that *Strangford* means the ford of the *Strang*, which is, I dare say, no other than the *Slainge*, the name of which has by a slight alteration been changed into *Strang*. Harris had no right to say, that Saul is on the East side of the bay of Dundrum; for it is situated some miles to the North of that bay, and at the East side of a branch of Strangford lough.

(17) This interesting narrative is given very perspicuously by Probus *L.* 1. *c.* 28. Second Life, *cap.* 29. Fourth, *cap.* 33. As to Dicho having been St. Patrick's first convert, Probus writes; "Credidit ergo homo ille (Dicho) *primus* omnium insulanorum, cum omni domo et familia sua." The second Life expresses it still more clearly; "Credidit et baptizatus est, et *primus Scotorum* per Patricium confessus est." Here we have a direct contradiction of what appears about Sinell in the interpola-

tion at *Ch.* 25. of said Life. (See above *Not.* 7.) The fourth Life has; "Credidit et baptizatus est; qui *primus Scotorum*, ut fertur, per Patricium confessus est." Colgan, who wished to reconcile all parties, thought that the matter might be settled by laying down, that Dicho was the first convert not in all Ireland, but in Ulster. This evasion, which has been adopted by Harris, cannot by any means agree with the authorities now quoted. The Tripartite, indeed, treating of this subject, (*L.* 1. *c.* 47.) makes Dicho the first Christian *in Ulster*; an addition that became necessary in consequence not only of what it has about Sinell (above *Not.* 9.) but likewise of its placing Seschnen and his son Benignus (of whom hereafter) as converts before Dicho. This stuff, together with some strange fables related in that part of the Tripartite, and which Jocelin has not forgot to amplify (*cap.* 32.), is not worth attending to. The same Tripartite and the third Life (*cap.* 31.) call Dicho *son of Trichem*, on which the other Lives are silent. The second and fourth Lives have one Rus son of Trichem, who lived to the South of Dicho's residence. Had the authors known that Dicho also was his son, it is odd that they have not designated him as such, in the same manner as they did with regard to Rus. Be this as it may, hence has proceeded the notion that Dicho and Rus were brothers. And then come three and four more brothers, all of the most noble house of Dalfiatach descended from Fiatach Fionn once king of Ireland. (See *Tr. Th. p.* 19—110. *Oggygia vind. ch.* 12.)

(18) *L.* 1. *c.* 28.

(19) Third Life, *cap.* 31. Tripart. *L.* 1. *c.* 47. Jocelin, *cap.* 32. Usher's Tripart. *Pr. p.* 816.

(20) St. Patrick made it a rule not to accept of presents, at least of any considerable value, lest, as he himself says, he might give occasion to the incredulous to defame his ministry. And he challenges the people to point out any donations he had received; "Forte autem, quando baptizavi tot millia hominum, speraverim ab aliquo illorum vel dimidium scripulæ. Dicite mihi et reddam vobis." *Confess. p.* 19. On the contrary he used to make presents, out of his own property, to princes and powerful people for the purpose of smoothing the way for his apostolical exertions, until at length he reduced himself to poverty. Of this more hereafter.

(21) Third Life, *cap.* 31. Tripart. *L.* 1. *c.* 47.

§. III. St. Patrick having remained *not many days* at Dicho's house, and left his ship or boat in the care of Dicho until he should return, set out by land for the place where Milcho his old master lived. (22) This was, as already observed, (23) in the large territory called Dal-aradia, (24) and its precise situation is marked by the circumstance that it was near the mountain called *Mis* in the county and barony of Antrim. Proceeding thither our Apostle, according to Probus and others, directed his course to a district occupied by the Crutheni or Irish Picts, and comprized within what we might call the province of Dal-aradia; in which district they seem to place Milcho's habitation. (25) He was an obstinate heathen, and, on hearing of St. Patrick's approach, was determined not to receive or see him. But it will not be easily believed that, to guard against the saint's visit, he set fire to his house, furniture, and property, and, to complete the climax of his folly, threw himself also into the flames and was burned to death. (26) St. Patrick, finding his efforts for the conversion of Milcho unavailing, returned to the district in which Dicho resided, that is, to *Maginish*, (27) and remaining there for several days preached the Gospel with great success throughout the whole of it. One of his principal converts on this occasion was Rus or Ross son of Trichem, (28) who lived in a town called Derluss, and afterwards Inreathan, (29) near Downpatrick on the South side. Passing over some prodigious fables, that occur concerning Ross in one or two of our saint's Lives, (30) we read that St. Patrick met in that neighbourhood a youth, called Mochoe, whom, after instructing him, he baptized and tonsured, thus dedicating him to the ecclesiastical state. It is added that he gave him the book of the Gospels and some sacred utensils. (31) This, however, must be understood as not having all

taken place during the present stay of St. Patrick in Mag-inis or Lecale, whereas some time must be allowed for Mochoe's learning Latin so as to be able to understand the book, and for qualifying himself for the clerical state. (32) And we may admit, that either Mochoe followed St. Patrick, or that, as the saint in the course of his mission visited that country more than once, he had opportunities of furthering the youth's education and of promoting him in the church. Nor is there any thing repugnant to probability in what is related of Mochoe, who is well known in our Calendars and Annals, and, having governed as bishop, or abbot, a church at Antrim, died A. D. 496, (497) June 23. (33)

(22) Probus, *L.* 1. *c.* 29. Second Life, *cap.* 29, 30. The Tripartite and Jocelin mention some transactions as having taken place while St. Patrick had been on this occasion at Dicho's house. Being partly ridiculous, and partly irreconcileable with the short stay he made in that place, they are undeserving of any notice. The vessel, in which the saint had sailed to near Saul, was rather a boat or wherry than a ship; for it is recorded, that on reaching land they hid it in some sequestered part of the coast. This could not have been done, had it been a ship. It was therefore a sort of large boat, which St. Patrick had either purchased or hired.

(23) Chap. IV. §. VI.

(24) Dalaradia must not be confounded with Dalrieda. The former (says Harris, *Antiq. p.* 48 and *Bishops, p.* 8.) comprehended the South and S. *East* parts of the county of Antrim and the greatest part of, if not all, the county of Down. It extended from Newry to the mountain Mis in the barony of Antrim. The latter, he adds, comprehended the North, N. West, and part of the South of the county of Antrim. It has been called also Reuta and by corruption the Routs. According to a statement in Usher's *Pr. p.* 1029. Dalrieda stretched 30 miles from Glenfinnaght (one of the Antrim Glymes in the eastern part of the county) to the river Bush. The Rev. Mr. Dubourdieu in his excellent work, (*Statistical Survey of the county of Antrim, p.* 4.) extends the Routs

(supposed to be the old Dalrieda) more to the West, *viz.* as far as the river Bann.

(25) The second Life has (*cap.* 30.); "Cumque vellet ire et visitare praedictum hominem Miliuc coepit per terram iter dirigere ad regionem *Cruthenorum* donec perveniret ad montem Mis." We find nearly the same words in the fourth Life, (*cap.* 34.) and in Probus (*L.* 1. *c.* 29) except that, through an error of transcription, *Egli* appears in the text instead of *Mis.* These Crutheni, or as they are called in Irish *Cruithneach*, that is, Picts settled in a part of Ireland, are often spoken of in our history, as distinct from the Picts of G. Britain. Colgan has confounded them with the Dal-aradii in general (*Tr. Th. p.* 380.) and has been followed by O'Flaherty (*marginal notes ib.* and elsewhere). Usher is, I think, more correct on this point. His opinion was, that those Crutheni possessed only the northern part of Dal-aradia, viz. the tract since called Clandeboy. (*Pr. p.* 1019—1017.) The Clandeboy, alluded to by Usher, is what has been named *North Clandeboy.* I cannot describe it better than by quoting the following passage from Mr. Dubourdieu's work; *p.* 3. "North Clandeboy, so called "to distinguish it from South Clandeboy, a territory in the county "of Down, extended from Carrickfergus bay, and the river Lagan, "west to Lough Neagh; consequently it contained the baronies "of Belfast, Masserene, and Antrim." That the name *Crutheni* was not co-extensive with *Dal-aradii* is evident from a passage in the third Life (*cap.* 57.) in which, among other northern tribes converted by St. Patrick, the *Cruithne* and *Dalnaraide* are mentioned distinctly; whence we see that, although the Crutheni lived in a part of Dal-aradia, they did not occupy the whole of it, and that there was a tribe or people called Dal-aradians distinct from them. Some of the Crutheni might, perhaps, have been found in other parts of Ulster. A place called *Dun-cruthen*, apparently in the district now called the barony of Colerain, is mentioned in the Tripartite. (*L.* 2. *c.* 125.) Colgan thinks the name signified *Fort of the Crutheni*, and conjectures that it was the same as Dunboe. How any of those Crutheni or Picts came to be settled in Ireland, is not easy to discover. In the *Chronicon Pictorum*, published by Innes (*Critical Essay*, &c. *Vol.* 2.) an allusion is made to the Picts of Ireland. Whether some of the Picts, who, as Bede tells us, (*Eccl. Hist. L.* 1. *c.* 1.) touched at Ireland

before they occupied the northern parts of G. Britain, were allowed to remain in Ireland, let those, who have more leisure, inquire.

(26) This story is told in almost all the Lives of St. Patrick. If there be any truth in it, we may suppose that Milcho's house was by some accident burned, and that he lost his life on that occasion. This misfortune would be naturally attributed to his refusing to see the saint; and thus was laid a foundation for story-tellers to build on. It is added that St. Patrick foretold that, in consequence of the horrible act of Milcho, all his posterity would be reduced to slavery. If so, how can the Tripartite, which in common with the other Lives, relates this prediction, be reconciled with itself, when it makes Guasact, afterwards bishop at Granard, a son of Milcho, and places two sisters of his, both called Emeria, in the nunnery of Clonbrone near that town (*L.* 2. *c.* 30.)? Jocelin also has (*cap.* 36.) those two Emerias of Clonbrone, but makes no mention of Guasact. Both he and the Tripartite had already given us a pretended vision of Milcho relative to these circumstances. (See above *Ch.* IV. *not.* 39.) That there were such persons in Ireland and probably in St. Patrick's time, I do not mean to question; but we have no sufficient grounds to make us believe, that Milcho was their father. In Tirechan's list of St. Patrick's disciples (*ap.* Usher, *Pr. p.* 951.) I find a Gosachus, who was, perhaps, the same person as Guasactus.

(27) The second Life has (*cap.* 30) *campum Inish ubi Dichu erat.* The same name occurs in the fourth Life, *cap.* 36. *Mag* is the Irish word for *campus;* and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 19.) observes, that the district, afterwards called Lecale, went in older times by the name of *Mag-inis*, i. e. the *insular plain.* For it is almost an island and a level tract of country.

(28) See *Not.* 17.

(29) The Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 52.) calls it *Brettan*, and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 19.) says that in his time it was merely a castle and a gentleman's seat, known by the name of *Brealain*, near Downpatrick.

(30) Third Life, *cap.* 33. and Jocelin, *cap.* 34, 35.

(31) The second Life has (*cap.* 32.); "Baptizavit eum ac totondit, et dedit ei Evangelium et *Ministeir.*" The Tripartite, having mentioned the baptism and tonsure, adds (*L.* 1. *c.* 53.);

"Reliquit discipulo vir Dei sacrum Evangeliorum codicem cum aliis *sacri ministerii utensilibus*."

(32) Jocelin (*cap.* 37.) makes St. Patrick on this first occasion teach Mochoe, or, as he calls him, *Mochua*, only the alphabet, that is, the Roman Alphabet, for the purpose of learning Latin. From the mention often made of St. Patrick's giving alphabets to his Irish disciples the Bollandists, who were totally ignorant of the Irish language, and nearly so of Irish history, rashly concluded (*Comment. &c.* at 17 *Mart.* §. 1.) that alphabetic writing was unknown in Ireland until the arrival of St. Patrick. Their arguments have been already well answered; (see among others Ware and Harris, *Antiq. Chap.* 3.) and, without entering into further discussions, it will suffice here to observe that, besides the Ogham characters (on which see the chapter now quoted and Vallancey, *Collectan. de reb. Hibern. Vol. VI. parts* 1 *and* 2, and elsewhere *passim*), the old Irish alphabet called *Bethluisnon* was of a quite different construction from the Roman. It was therefore necessary for the Irish, who wished to learn Latin, to make themselves previously acquainted with its alphabet, in the same manner as whoever among us wishes to know Greek must first learn the Greek letters. The Bollandists' argument is like that of an Arab, who, on being told that the Europeans cannot read Arabic books without being taught the letters, would thence conclude, that they have no letters of their own. The late Mr. Tighe has published an inscription in alphabetic characters, prior to the period of Christianity in Ireland, in his *Statistical Survey of Co. Kilkenny; p.* 622.

(33) Annals of the 4 Masters, *Tr. Th. p.* 20. and *AA. SS. p.* 189.

§. IV. These transactions occupied the latter end of the year 432, and part of 433, until not long before Easter time. St. Patrick having determined on celebrating that festival near Tarah, where the princes and states of the whole kingdom were to be assembled about that time, took leave of his friend Dicho and sailing southward arrived in the harbour called *Colbdi*, (34) now *Colp* at the mouth of the Boyne. There leaving his boat (35) he and his

companions set out on foot (36) for the plain of Breg, in which the city of Tarah was situated. On their way, and, as it seems, very soon after getting out of the boat, it is said that they went to the house of a respectable man, whose name was Seschnen, there to pass the night, and that, being well received by him, St. Patrick baptized him and his family. A son of his, whom at the baptism our saint, considering his sweet disposition, called Benignus, became so attached to him that he insisted on going along with him. St. Patrick received him with pleasure into his society, and thenceforth Benignus became one of his most favourite disciples, and afterwards archbishop of Armagh. But, whether or not it was on this occasion that Benignus attached himself to St. Patrick, (37) it is not to be supposed that his baptism and that of Seschnen and others took place during that very night, which our saint spent in their house. For, although the Apostles occasionally baptized persons without waiting until a certain time for instruction and probation had elapsed, (38) yet St. Patrick, who was well acquainted with the church discipline of his time, undoubtedly adhered to it as far as the circumstances of a new mission and the urgency of cases would allow. Accordingly, when adults offered themselves, he took care to have them previously instructed and to keep them in the rank of catechumens, at least for some days, before they should be baptized. (39) And if it be true that Benignus and others were baptized about this time, it is very probable that their baptism did not take place until the Paschal solemnity, which was then near at hand.

(34) Probus, *L.* 1. *c.* 33. In the second Life (*cap.* 34.) it is written *Colpdai*; and in the fourth (*cap.* 39.) we read *Inver-Colpoe.* The Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 1.) has *Inver Boinne,* or *mouth of the Boyne.*

(35) The Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 55.) introduces on this occasion

Loman or Luman, whom it makes a nephew of St. Patrick, as left to take care of the boat; and (*L.* 2. *c.* 1.) adds that, in consequence of an order of the saint, he sailed up against the current of the river as far as Trim. This was too good a story to be slighty passed over by Jocelin, who, (*cap.* 51.) to make it still more marvellous, subjoins that, the sails being hoisted, the vessel went up, without the assistance of oars, notwithstanding furious blasts of wind in the direction straight opposite to its course. He might as well have said, that it had been carried in the air; for, as Usher has remarked, (*Pr. p.* 853.) the channel of the Boyne is so unfit for navigation, that it would be impossible for a boat to proceed as far as Trim, even were both the current and the winds favourable. Tirechan quoted by Usher (*ib.*) has a part of this story as given in the Tripartite, but, instead of calling Loman a nephew of St. Patrick, he makes him only a disciple of his. (As to our apostle's pretended relatives in Ireland, see *Chap.* III. §. XVIII.) Connected with this fable is what we read in the tracts now referred to (for in the other Lives there is no mention of Loman) concerning his having been placed at Trim (Jocelin makes him a bishop) and the antiquity of that church, which Tirechan says was founded the 22d year before that of Armagh. This foundation could not have been prior to *A. D.* 433, the year in which St. Patrick first preached in Meath. There can be little doubt, that Loman lived at a much later period, and that he was no other than the bishop Loman, who is reckoned in the third order of Irish saints in the catalogue published by Usher, *p.* 913. The saints of that order flourished in the seventh century, as appears from the times of the kings, during whose reigns they lived. The donations of towns and lands spoken of in the above tracts as made by Fedlimid, chief of the country about Trim, to St. Patrick and Loman (Tirechan makes him give away his whole territory) do not by any means agree with the times of St. Patrick. (See above *Not.* 20.) Tirechan, or rather the person, who assumed his name and who was a Meath man, represents these possessions as annexed for ever to the see of Trim. But it seems they were claimed by the archbishops of Armagh; and hence Jocelin, one of whose patrons was the primate Thomas O'Connor, mentions a disposal of those lands &c. made not long after, in virtue of which the right to them was transferred to St. Patrick and the see of

Armagh. The Tripartite also, a compilation apparently patched up at Armagh, has something to the same purpose. Thus we have a key to the whole business. While it was pretended that those possessions belonged to St. Patrick, that is, to Armagh, and not to Trim, the name of *St. Patrick* was mistaken for the saint considered personally, and thus he and Loman were made contemporaries; whence flowed other allegations, &c. Had Usher and the Bollandists reflected on these circumstances, they would not have laid down, that Loman was the first bishop consecrated in Ireland and Trim the oldest Irish see.

(36) *Pedestri itinere;* Probus, *L.* 1. *c.* 33. and the second Life, *cap.* 34. much better authorities than the third Life or Jocelin, who make them go in a chariot.

(37) The conversion of Seschnen, &c. as having occurred on this occasion is mentioned only in the third Life (*cap.* 36.) and Jocelin (*cap.* 39.). The Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 45.) makes it prior to St. Patrick's first arrival in Lecale and the conversion of Dicho; but this date is contradicted by the whole tenour of St. Patrick's proceedings. See above *Not.* 17.

(38) An ancient commentator on St. Paul, usually quoted under the name of Ambrosiaster, writes (*in Ephes.* 4.); "Primum omnes docebant et omnes baptizabant, quibuscumque diebus vel temporibus fuisset occasio. Nec enim Philippus tempus quaesivit aut diem, quo Eunuchum baptizaret; neque jejunium interposuit. Neque Paulus et Silas tempus distulerunt, quo Optionem carceris baptizarent cum omnibus ejus."

(39) In the Epistle against Coroticus St. Patrick alludes to the rules and ceremonies relative to the administration of baptism. He speaks of the white garment, chrism, &c. The 19th canon of what is called his Synod runs thus; "Octavo die *Catechumeni* sunt; *postea* solemnitatibus Domini baptizantur, id est, Pascha, Pentecoste, et *Epiphania*." From the mention of *Epiphania* it is plain, that this canon must be very ancient; and I find no reason for denying that St. Patrick himself was the author of it.

§. v. On the following day, which was Easter-eve or Holy Saturday, St. Patrick continued his journey and arrived in the evening at a place called *Tertafer-fèic*, now Slane. (40) Having got a tent pitched

there he made preparations for celebrating the festival of Easter, and accordingly lighted the paschal fire about night-fall. (41) It happened that at this very time the king Leogaire (42) and the assembled princes were celebrating a religious festival, of which fire-worship formed a part. There was a standing law that, at the time of this festival, no fire should be kindled for a considerable distance all around, until after a great fire should be lighted in the royal palace of Temoria or Tarah. (43) St. Patrick's Paschal fire was, however, lighted before that of the palace, and being seen from the heights of Tarah excited great astonishment. On the king's inquiring what could be the cause of it, and who could have thus dared to infringe the law, the Magi told him that it was necessary to have that fire extinguished immediately, whereas, if allowed to remain, it would get the better of their fires, and bring about the downfal of his kingdom. (44) Leogaire enraged and troubled on getting this information set out for Slane, with a considerable number of followers and one or two of the principal *Magi*, (45) for the purpose of exterminating those violators of the law. When arrived within some distance from where the tent was, they sat down, and St. Patrick was sent for with an order to appear before the king and give an account of his conduct. It was arranged, that no one should show him any mark of respect nor rise up to receive him. But, on his presenting himself before them, Here son of Dego disobeyed the injunction and standing up saluted him, and receiving the saint's blessing became a believer. (46) He was afterwards bishop of Slane and celebrated for his sanctity. (47) Passing over certain contests between St. Patrick and the Magi, and some partly prodigious and partly ridiculous fables, we find St. Patrick the next day (Easter Sunday) in the palace of Tarah preaching before the king and the States general, and disconcerting the Magi. The only person, that on his

appearing there rose up to pay his respects to him, was Dubtach an eminent poet (48) and instructor of Fiech son of Ere, who afterwards became bishop of Sletty. (49) Dubtach was the first convert on that day, and the saint became greatly attached to him. Thenceforth he dedicated his poetical talents to Christian subjects, and some works of his are still extant. (50) St. Fingar or Guigner, who is said to have suffered martyrdom with many others some years afterwards either in Cornwall or Britany, is stated by one Anselm, who has written his Acts, (51) to have been converted on that occasion, or rather on the preceding night, and to have been the son of a king called Clito. It is added that he was the only person, who stood up in honour of St. Patrick; thus attributing to him what was done either by Here or Dubtach. Of all this there is nothing in the Lives of St. Patrick, the authors of which would not have omitted so remarkable a circumstance, had it occurred. (52)

(40) *Tr. Th. p.* 20.

(41) All the Lives agree in stating, that this Paschal fire was lighted in the evening of the day of St. Patrick's arrival at Slane, and hence Jocelin was not wrong in saying, (*cap.* 40.) that said day was Holy Saturday. Harris, probably through ignorance of the ceremonies observed at Easter time, omitted the circumstance of that fire having been Paschal and lighted merely through a religious motive. According to Harris' account (*Bishops, p.* 14.) one might suspect, that St. Patrick by lighting a fire meant to bid defiance to the king without any necessary cause, while his real object was to celebrate the festival in the manner practised by the Church.

(42) Leogaire king of all Ireland was son of Niall Naoigiallach, and succeeding his cousin Dathy, (see *Chap.* IV. *not.* 20.) who was killed in the continent, began his reign A. D. 428. (O'Flaherty, *Ogygia, p.* 429. and Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 449.) This date agrees with Ware's computation, who, with our antiquaries (O'Flaherty *ib.*) assigning 35 years to his reign places (*Antiq. cap.* 4.) his death in the year 463. It agrees also with what is mentioned in

some of the Lives of St. Patrick, *viz.* that he arrived in Ireland in the fourth year of Leogaire's reign. (Usher *p.* 815) Yet Usher affixes (*Ind. Chron.*) the first year of Leogaire to A. D. 427. Unless this be owing to an error of the press, we must admit that he contradicts himself; for elsewhere (*Pr. p.* 949.) he lays down, that the latter end of the 4th year of Leogaire might have been the same as the latter end of A. D. 432. This could not happen, had Leogaire's reign begun any time in the year 427.

(43) In the second Life (*cap.* 34.) we find a summary account of these transactions agreeing in substance with the other Lives, thus expressed: "Fixo itaque ibi tentorio debita Paschae vota in sacrificium laudis Domini celebravit. *Isisin indaimsir sindam dorighnedhmed feis Temradhi la Leogaire mac Neill & la fir Ereann;*" or, as translated by Colgan, "istud erat tempus et hora, qua celebrabantur encoenia Temoriana per Leogarium filium Neill, et per populos Hiberniae. Congregatis igitur regibus et ducibus ad illum Leogaire regem eadem nocte, qua sanctus Patricius pascha, illi festivitatem exercuerunt suam. Statutum autem apud eos erat ex edicto, ut quicunque in cunctis regionibus, sive longe sive juxta, illa nocte ignem prius accenderet quam in palatio Temoriae succenderetur, morte damnaretur. Sanctus vero Patricius, rite Pascha celebrans, incendit divinum ignem," &c. Colgan, following Keating, says that this festival used to be celebrated once in every three years. Yet Probus (*L.* 1. *c.* 35.) seems to speak of it as held every year. On this subject let our antiquaries decide. The law here alluded to adds another to the innumerable proofs, such as the name *Bealtinne* for the first of May, &c. &c. (see Vallancey's *Vindication of the ancient history of Ireland, p.* 394, *seqq.*) that could be adduced to show that, in the time of Heathenism, fire was an object of worship in Ireland. That the Irish adored the sun is evident from St. Patrick himself, who, alluding to that mode of idolatry, says (*Confess. p.* 22.); "Nam sol iste, quem videmus, Deo jubente propter nos quotidie oritur sed nunquam regnabit, neque permanebit splendor ejus. Sed et omnes, *qui adorant eum*, in poenam miseri male devenient. Nos autem credimus et adoramus Solem verum, Christum;" &c. The moon, and probably the stars, or the whole host of heaven, were also objects of veneration; and even the wind or air. (Ware and Harris *Antiq. cap.* 16.) Well-worship was a prevalent superstition;

and some, who adored water as a propitious deity, considered fire as a bad one. A singular anecdote relative to this opinion occurs in the Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 70.). It is there related, that in a place called Finmagh (in Mayo) there was a well, which the foolish vulgar called *king of the waters*, and which they considered as a god and worshipped as such. This superstition was much enhanced by the circumstance, that a certain *Magus*, who worshipped water as a propitious god, and held fire to be an evil genius (*et ignem habebat ut infestum*) had got himself buried under a stone in that well. This reminds us of the old Oriental contests between the worshippers of fire and those of water, and leads to a conclusion that some connexion had existed between Ireland and remote parts of the East. The Irish believed in the existence of a sort of genii or fairies called *Sidhé* (third Life *cap.* 48.) and supposed to inhabit pleasant hills. But, as O'Flaherty justly observes, (*Ogygia, Part* III. *c.* 22.) they knew of no such beings as Jupiter, &c. and he concludes thus; "Unde colligendum Hibernorum numina fuisse deos topicos, *sc.* montanos, campestres, fluviales, aequoreos, et id genus alios locorum genios." As to idols properly so called, the use of them was not general in Ireland, as will be seen below, *Not.* 45.

(44) "Hic ignis, quem videmus,—nisi extinctus fuerit hac nocte, non extinguetur in aeternum: insuper et *omnes ignes nostrae consuetudinis* superexcellet; et ille, qui incendit eum, regnum tuum dissipabit." (Probus, *L.* 1. *c.* 35.) The other Lives agree in substance. Supposing this part of the narrative to be true, there is nothing in it which may not be easily admitted. Those Magi had some knowledge of the preaching of Christianity in Ireland, and wishing to put a stop to it made use of these arguments. But it will not follow, that they were endowed with a sort of prophetic gift, any more than the Jews, when they said of our Saviour; *If we let him alone in this manner, all will believe in him; and the Romans will come and take away our place and nation.* John XI. 48.

(45) The Magi, so often spoken of in the history of St. Patrick, seem to have enjoyed a rank and privileges similar to those of the Brahmins of Hindostan and, besides the superintendence of religious matters, to have practised the arts of divination, necromancy, &c. Ware, Harris and some other writers call them *Druids*, and

consider them as similar in every respect to the Druids of Gaul and Britain. It is true, that the persons called by Probus and others *Magi*, who pretended to foretel the consequences of allowing the preaching of the Gospel, are called in Fiech's hymn (*Strophe* XI.) *Druidh*. But, although the names seem to agree, yet they were, I believe, a description of persons very different from the Druids described by Cæsar (*De bello Gall. L.* VI. §. 13. *seqq.*). For the Druidical religion, as there explained, was far from being the same as that of the ancient Irish. Instead of the worship of the sun, moon, and elements (see *Not.* 48.) the religion of the Gallic Druids was downright idolatrous, consisting, in theory, of a multiplicity of gods, the chief of whom was Mercury, then Apollo, Mars, &c; and, in practice, of heaps of images or idols. Among the principal deities of the Irish we find first the name of Bel, Mann, or other names relative to the sun, of which a very remarkable instance is still extant on Tory-hill (Co. Kilkenny) called in Irish *Sleigh-Grian* or the *hill of the sun*. In a circular space formerly dedicated to heathen worship, and similar to those so generally met with in Ireland, there is still remaining a *cromlech* or large stone supported by others, on which is an inscription in Pelasgic, or, at least, very ancient characters, which, written in Roman letters, gives these two words *Beli Diuose*, that is, *Bel Dionusos*, or *Bel Bacchus*. That Bel was the sun is universally admitted; and it is well known that *Dionusos* or *Dionysos*, as a surname, was originally applied to the sun. On this subject let me quote the 29th epigram of Ausonius. "Ogygia me Bacchum vocat—Osirin Ægyptus putat—Mystae Phanaeen nominant—*Dionyson Indi* existimant—Romana sacra Liberum—Arabica gens Adoneum—Lucaniacus Pantheum." All these names were merely epithets or surnames of the sun; for, as Huet observes, (*Demonstr. Evang. Prop.* IV. *cap.* 3.) "Osirin et Liberum nemo solem esse nescit.—Adonin autem esse solem et asseverat Macrobius," &c. (See also Bryant, *Analysis of Anc. Mythol. V.* 1. *p.* 305. *4to. ed.*) Next came the moon, under various names or epithets. (See Vallancey, *Vindication* &c. *p.* 493. *seqq.*) Of those kinds of worship or of that of water Cæsar says nothing; and accordingly Harris was wrong in applying (*Antiq. ch.* XVI. *sect.* 2.) indiscriminately his account of Druidism to the state of Ireland. Nor had he a right to introduce into that account Diana, of whom Cæsar makes no

mention, although, inasmuch as she was taken for the moon, the Irish had her under other names. It is, however true, that a number of s-migods or genii were venerated in Ireland (Vallancey *ib.)*; but the greater gods, the *Dii majorum gentium*, were different from those of Gaul. As to the practical part of religion, the use of statues or idols was far from being general in Ireland, although it cannot be denied that some were to be met with, to which St. Patrick alludes, when he says, (*Conf. p.* 16.) that the Irish had worshipped *idola et immunda*. Idols, properly so called, are not mentioned but once in the Lives of St. Patrick, and that only in three of them, which are the most intermixed with fables. The third Life (*cap.* 46) has an idol, called *Cenverbhe*, and made of gold and silver, which king Leogaire used to adore. The Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 31.) calls it *Cromcruach*, (*i. e. heap of the sun*, from *Crom* an ancient name of the god of fire or the sun; Vallancey, *ib. p.* 495.) and adds that twelve smaller idols of brass were placed around it. Jocelin (*cap.* 56.) agrees, as usual, with the Tripartite, except that to the great idol he gives the name of *Ceancroith*, which he interprets *head of all the gods*. I strongly suspect, that what are here called idols were in reality nothing else than plain rude stones, placed in a circular space of the sort above mentioned, the large one indicating the sun, while the smaller ones represented the signs of the zodiac. Of stones thus arranged there are very many remains in Ireland, as, *ex. c.* on Tory-hill (*Stat. Survey of Kilkenny, p.* 622.) Cairngrainey, or *heap of the sun*, in the county of Antrim (Dubordieu, *Stat. Surv. p.* 581.) and other places noted for the worship of the sun. On Killeny hill not far from Dublin, a place of worship thus laid out is still in tolerable preservation. Harris suspects that the *Ceancroith* of Jocelin ought to be read *Cean-grioth*, *i. e.* head of the sun. As to the name *Crom-cruach*, which Harris was wrong in explaining by *crooked stone of adoration*, the thing so called as being a *cruach* (heap) could hardly have been an idol regularly shaped. But, admitting the truth of what the Tripartite &c. have, it will only follow, that in that one instance there were real idols. The place was called *Mag-slecht*, or *field of adoration*, and was situated in some part of the now county of Leitrim. It is remarkable, that it was in that district the worship of idols is said to have been first practised in Ireland. Lynch (*Cambr. Evers. p.* 59.) writes;

" Tigernmasius (king of Ireland) idolorum in Hibernia colendorum *author*, quorum praecipuo dum ingenti multitudine stipatus cultum in *Brefnia* impenderet, ipse ac comites eadem morte sublati sunt anno mundi 2650." Yet, if we take the name *idols* in a more enlarged sense, that is, for any material objects distinguished by adoration, it is certain that they were very general in Ireland. For the upright stones, found in the circular spaces and in many other parts were intended to represent objects of adoration, according to that original mode of superstition, which was prior to the more refined fashions of idolatry, and to the practice of exhibiting deities under human forms. The famous stone at Clogher, which the pagans used to cover with gold, and adore as representing *Kermand Kelstach* a deity of the northerns (*Ogygia, Part* III. *cap.* 22.) was of this kind. Those stones were, in fact, the *baetylia* of the Phenicians mentioned by Sanchoniathon or Philo Byblius, (*ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Evang. L.* 1. *c.* 10.) for a further account of which the reader may consult Bochart, *Chanaan, L.* 11. *cap.* 2. Our *rocking stones* are some of those *baetylia*, viz. moving or *animated* stones, which had Bochart rightly considered, he would probably not have changed, by a conjectural emendation, the *animated stones* of Philo into *anointed stones*. While other nations substituted for those rude emblems statues of elegant form and workmanship, the Irish adhered to the old practice with very few exceptions. (See Vallancey, *Vindication*, &c. *p.* 460 *seqq.*) Another very remarkable circumstance is, that in the same manner as with the Persians, Chanaanites, and apostate Hebrews, the mountains and hills, *viz.* the *high places*, as they are called in Scripture, without any covering, and in the open air were the chief places of religious worship in Ireland. As to sacrifices, a certain species of them, such as that of a sow pig for the increase of the fruits of the earth, was observed by the Irish; but I greatly doubt whether, notwithstanding what some say, they had the practice of human sacrifices, particularly such as those horrid ones which were so common in the Druidical system of Gaul. Nor can any argument be deduced from the name *Druidh* occurring in Fiech's hymn; for it signifies merely *wise men*, being the old plural of *Draoi* or *Drui*, in the same manner as *Philidh* is the plural of *Phile* a poet. In modern Irish *Draoith* is used, instead of *Druidh*, to signify wise men or *Magi*; *ex. c.* in the

Irish version of *Matth.* II. 1. The oak tree (in Irish *Darach, Dair, Darag,*) whatever veneration the Irish might have had for it as well as almost all pagan nations, had nothing to do with this name; and it is more than probable, that even the Gallic and British Druids did not thence derive their appellation. *Druidh,* at least in Irish, meant nothing else than *wise men* or *Magi,* the word used by Probus and the other writers, who have given us Lives of St. Patrick in Latin. It is therefore a mistake to conclude from the similarity or even identity of the name *Druid,* that the pagan systems of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland were the same. One might as well argue from the general acceptation of the Latin word *Sacerdotes,* that all religions were and are the same, Christian, Jewish, Pagan, &c. whereas all of them have their *sacerdotes.* I allow that some analogies are to be found between the ramifications of the Irish, Gaulish, and British superstitions, as is the case between every pagan system; and particularly between the Irish and British, owing to causes, which the reader may find in Lhuyd's, Camden's, and Vallancey's works; but I think that on a close examination it will be found that the system of the Gallic Druids, as described by Cæsar, was much different from that of our Irish *Magi,* or, if any one choose to call them so, *Druids.* I have, however, to guard against equivocation, preferred retaining the name, *Magus, Magi.*

(46) If this account be true, it will follow that Here was only about nine years old at that time, as according to the Annals referred to by Usher (*Pr. p.* 1047 and *Ind. Chron.*) he died A. D. 514. (the 4 Masters have 512 *i. e.* 513.) in the ninetieth year of his age. Most of the Lives, however, seem to represent him as then a grown up person. In Usher's Tripartite (*Pr. p.* 849) he is spoken of as one of the king's pages; *Unus ex juvenibus regis nomine Ercus;* and is said to have offered his own seat to St. Patrick, who blessed him, &c.

(47) Probus has (*L.* 1. *c.* 37.); "Hercus filius Dego, cujus *reliquiae nunc venerantur* in civitate, quae vocatur Slane."

(48) Fiech's Scholiast calls Dubtach the Arch-poet or chief of the Irish poets or bards. The Tripartite makes him the arch-poet of the king and kingdom; and Jocelin calls him a certain poet of the king, whence Harris formed his *poet laureat.*

(49) Harris here introduces Fiech as being present at Tara:

with Dubtach and there converted. This is in direct opposition to what the Scholiast, the Tripartite, &c. relate as to Fiech, who, as will be seen hereafter, did not become known to St. Patrick until some years after Dubtach's conversion. Harris was led astray by not having rightly understood Probus and the author of the second Life, where they say that Fiech, then a youth, was at that time a disciple of Dubtach; but they do not mention his having been along with him, when St. Patrick made his first appearance at Tarah.

(50) *Tr. Th. p.* 8. *no.* 5. Ware and Harris, *Writers, p.* 6.

(51) Although certainly not written by Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, (see Tillemont, *Mem. Tom.* XVI. *p.* 471.) they are printed in some editions of his works. They have been published also by Messingham, *(Florilegium insulae sanctorum)* and Colgan *AA. SS. Febr.* 23.

(52) Among other fables in that tract of Anselm it is said, that of seven Irish kings assembled on that occasion Clito was the most noble and powerful. Now there is nothing better authenticated than that the head king was at that time Leogaire. That there was a saint Fingar I am ready to admit; and it is very probable that he was one of those newly baptized Christians, who were carried off by Coroticus, of which hereafter.

§. VI. In some of the Lives it is said that Leogaire himself, terrified by certain miracles performed by St. Patrick, became a convert; but this cannot be reconciled with what we read in other Lives concerning his obstinate infidelity, (53) nor with the statements given by the saint in his Confession. For it can hardly be supposed that he would have suffered imprisonment and various persecutions, on account of his preaching the Gospel, from any of the petty princes, (54) had their chief, the king of all Ireland, been a Christian. Nor do I find sufficient authority for what is related of the queen's conversion, (55) although the arguments against it are less strong than in the case of the king. Yet St. Patrick, who, when touching upon the extraordinary success with which God blessed his mission, makes

mention of the sons and daughters of chieftains, who had embraced the Christian faith, (56) says nothing about any queen having been converted. Be this as it may, it seems that he got permission from the king to preach the Gospel on condition of his not disturbing the peace of the kingdom. (57) He then repaired to Tailten, the place where public games were celebrated ; (58) and it seems that the chiefs assembled at Tarah had adjourned thither. According to the Tripartite St. Patrick arrived at Tailten on Easter Monday, and remained there or in the neighbourhood until the Monday following. (59) He preached to Carbre a brother of Leogaire, but was very badly received, insomuch so that his life was in danger from him. The conduct of Conall, another brother of theirs, was quite different ; he listened to St. Patrick with delight, believed, and was baptized. To this memorable Easter week, which was the first that occurred since the saint's arrival on his mission, must, I believe, be referred the origin of the festival called *St. Patrick's baptism*, that used to be held on the 5th of April. This festival was instituted, as already remarked, (60) in commemoration not of St. Patrick's having been baptized, but of the first *solemn* baptism performed by him in Ireland. I say, *solemn*, because I find no reason for supposing that he had not already baptized, in a private manner, some of his converts, such as Dicho and others in Ulster. But it is more than probable, that he reserved such converts, as he acquired since his landing at the mouth of the Boyne for the Paschal time, which was the principal solemnity in the year for administering the sacrament of baptism. And it must be recollected, that not only Easter eve or Holy Saturday, but likewise the whole of Easter week, and, in some churches, many days following were, as belonging to the Paschal solemnity, considered fit for that purpose. (61) The baptism of St. Patrick is

said to have been performed on a Wednesday; (62) now the 5th of April A. D. 433 fell on a Wednesday and apparently in Easter week; so that according to the Paschal cycle of 84 years, and the method of applying it practised in Gaul, which St. Patrick introduced into Ireland (of which more hereafter) Easter Sunday, as kept in Ireland, seems to have fallen in that year on the 2d of April. As to what is said of Conall having given to St. Patrick his own castle or house to be changed into a church &c. (63) it merits no more attention than many other stories of the same kind fabricated in later times.

(53) Probus (*L.* 1. *c.* 46) makes the king say to his nobles on that same day (Easter Sunday); *It is better for me to believe than die;* and tells us that accordingly he and many others professed themselves Christians. The second Life (*cap.* 41.) and the fourth (*cap.* 49.) agree, nearly word for word, with Probus. The Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 67.) has the same account, and yet afterwards (*L.* 2. *c.* 8.) states that Leogaire was not a sincere believer, and that he used to say, that his father Niell had laid an injunction on him never to embrace the faith of Christ but to adhere to the gods of his ancestors. According to the third Life (*cap.* 42.) he remained an infidel, and Jocelin (*cap.* 49.) says, that St. Patrick could not prevail on him to receive baptism. Even Colgan more than once, (*ex. c. AA. SS. p.* 111.) represents him as an obstinate pagan and a persecutor.

(54) See *Confess. p.* 20.

(55) The third Life (*cap.* 42.) and Jocelin (*cap.* 49.) having mentioned the obstinacy of Leogaire, state that the queen was converted. The Tripartite also (*L.* 1. *c.* 67.) seems to make her a Christian and calls her Angussa, adding an anecdote concerning her interfering with St. Patrick in favour of a child then in her womb, who was afterwards Lugadius king of Ireland. But from what is related (*ib.*) of the unfortunate end of Lugadius it would seem, that he was not a Christian; and if not, it is probable that the mother had not been one.

(56) "Filii *Scottorum* et filiae regulorum monachi et virgines

Christi esse videntur. Et etiam una benedicta *Scotta* genitiva nobilis, pulcherrima, adulta erat, quam ego baptizavi." (*Confess. p.* 16.) The manner, in which the *Scots* are alluded to in this passage, is well worth the attention of our antiquaries; for, as the Bollandists and Tillemont have observed, and after them Innes, (*Crit. Essay*, &c.) it plainly shows, that in St. Patrick's time all the people of Ireland were not called *Scots*. When speaking of the great mass of the nation, the saint uses the name *Hiberionaces*, from *Hiberione* his name for Ireland. From the context, in which this passage occurs, it appears that his object was to show, that not only very many of the lower order in Ireland had become Christians, but likewise some persons of the ruling and powerful party, a description of persons, which, from the commencement of Christianity, has been uniformly found to be more careless about religion and less easy to be converted than any other. In his letter against Coroticus, which was written before the Confession, these Scots are introduced by St. Patrick among the persecutors of Christians; but before his death he had the consolation to see several of them brought over to the faith. The Scots were at that period in Ireland, compared with the old inhabitants, what the Franks were for a long series of years in Gaul before they became so mixed with the Gallic people as to give their name to that country. And, following the analogy usual in such cases, we may conclude that the invasion of Ireland by the Scots, who were a warlike nation such as the Franks, ought not to be referred to as high an antiquity as some of our historians have pretended. Otherwise it would be very difficult to explain, how they could have been in our saint's time considered as a nation distinct from the greater part of the people of Ireland. Yet within less than a hundred years later the appellation of *Scots* was extended to all the Irish, and our island became as well known under the name of *Scotia* as that of *Hibernia*. The Scots might have been four or five hundred years in Ireland before the distinction of names between them and the other inhabitants totally ceased; a length of time nearly equal to that, which elapsed from the arrival of the English in this country, before their descendants were, at least generally, comprized under the name of Irishmen.

(57) Probus and others relate, that St. Patrick after his interview with Leogaire preached freely through the country. The Tripartite goes further, and mentions (*L.* 2. *c.* 8.) an agreement entered into between them, according to which the saint pledged himself not to eject Leogaire from his kingdom, and the king promised not to make an attempt on St. Patrick's life. If there was any such compact, we must suppose that Leogaire was impressed with the false notion suggested to him by the Magi (*Not.* 44.) that St. Patrick's views might be hostile; and that on the other hand he had conceived such an opinion of his supernatural power, that he was afraid to have him put to death. The Bollandists assign the permission granted to St. Patrick by Leogaire to the year 436; but, according to what the Tripartite has, it must have been given in 433.

(58) See *Not.* 6.

(59) The Tripartite has (*L.* 2. *c.* 4.); "*Prima autem feria* venit Patricius *ad Talteniam.*" That this was Easter Monday is clear from a passage lower down (*cap.* 6.) which, after the account given of the saint's transactions with Carbre and Conall, runs thus; "*Paschae* quoque clausula finita, prima feria exiit," &c. These two passages appear as quotations from some old Latin work, and are therefore entitled to a certain degree of credit.

(60) *Chap.* IV. §. 1.

(61) See Bingham, *Orig. Eccles. Book* XI. *ch.* VI. *sect.* 7.

(62) Usher has (*p.* 882) from the book of Sligo a passage in Irish, which literally translated is as follows; "Three Wednesdays of Patrick, birth, *baptism*, death." As he seems to have been unacquainted with our Calendars and Martyrologies, that explain what was meant by the *baptism*, (see *Chap.* IV. §. 1.) he thought it might have meant the baptizing of St. Patrick himself, while it is well known that *St. Patrick's baptism*, so celebrated in Ireland, was the one first solemnly administered by him in this country.

(63) Third Life *cap.* 44. Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 5, &c. The place, according to this story, was thenceforth called *Domnach-Patrick*, Donagh-Patrick four miles East of Kells. The most, that can be allowed, is that Conall gave him a spot of ground to build a church on; and thus the matter is represented in the fourth Life, *cap.* 52. In course of time that church might have swelled into a considerable religious establishment and town. (See above §. II. and

Not. 20.) Archdall *(ad loc.)* quotes Colgan to show that it was anciently called *Domnach mor muighe siuil;* but in the passage referred to Colgan gives this name to a Donagh-Patrick in the diocese of Tuam.

§. VII. Henceforth it becomes extremely difficult and next to impossible to arrange, with a sufficient degree of chronological accuracy, the subsequent transactions of St. Patrick's mission. We here lose the assistance of our best guides in this respect; (64) and Usher himself has been obliged, in endeavouring to fix dates, to jump over many intermediate years here and there. (65) Colgan has nearly followed Usher; while the Bollandists, wishing to strike out a new arrangement, have succeeded worse than either of them. The Tripartite, although abounding in anachronisms, now becomes our best resource; but, however aided by some dates supplied by our Annals or other documents, it is not to be expected that a regular series of proceedings, year by year, can be drawn up for the information of the reader.

(64) The second Life stops short at what passed between St. Patrick and Leogaire, and so does the first book of Probus, which is the only truly historical one, as the second is merely a miscellany of miracles and some odd facts thrown together without any chronological order.

(65) *Pr. Ind. Chron.*

§. VIII. St. Patrick, having celebrated Easter week set out on the following Monday (66) for other places in Meath, in which he seems to have passed a considerable time, although it would be ridiculous to admit the number of churches and religious foundations reported to have been established by him in that territory. (67) He is said to have erected a church at a place called *Druim-corcorthri*, perhaps Drumconrath in the barony of Slane, and to have

placed over it one Diermit. The church of Drumshallon not far from Drogheda is mentioned also among those of his foundation. Turning towards the district of Delbhna Assuill, now Delvin and Moyashill in Westmeath, he preached with success to the inhabitants, notwithstanding the opposition of of a man called Fergus, who seems to have been a relative of the king. (68) St. Patrick then went to the celebrated hill of Usneagh (in Westmeath,) the territory about which belonged to two brothers, Fiach and Enda, (69) the latter of whom became a convert. Passing over the stuff about the splendid donation of lands made on that occasion to the saint, it is worthy of observation that Enda is stated to have entrusted one of his sons, named Cormac, to the care of St. Patrick, who accordingly superintended his education. He tells us in his Confession that, to gain the good will of the chieftains, he used to make presents to them, and provide for some of their sons, whom he used to keep along with himself. (70) He is then made to proceed from Usneagh to the country now called Longford; but the most remarkable transactions, which the Tripartite assigns to this period, (71) occurred many years after and will be related in their proper places. Yet there is every reason to believe, that a considerable number of converts was made in that district as well as in Meath and Westmeath during this first time of St. Patrick's preaching in those tracts, and that he left some of his companions or newly ordained priests to take care of these congregations. It was a rule with him to supply his converts, according as he acquired them, with clergymen. (72) How long he remained in the districts now mentioned we have no grounds for ascertaining; but we may be certain that he continued there long enough for the purpose of consolidating these new churches and of instructing and preparing persons for ordination, to whose care they were to be consigned. When on the

point of quitting, for some time, those parts of Ireland, he turned off a little to the Northward for the purpose of destroying the idol *Crom-cruach*, or as some say, thirteen idols, standing in Mag-slecht, or, as others call it, *Moy-slecht*, which is stated to be a plain near Feanagh in the county of Leitrim. (73) This he effected by his prayers, and is said to have erected a large church (74) in the neighbourhood, over which he placed Mauran surnamed Barban.

(66) See *Not.* 59.

(67) Many of the persons named as placed over those churches are known to have lived long after St. Patrick's time. For instance it is said (Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 10.) that he placed one Cassanus over the church of Donnach-mor *in campo Echnach* (Donaghmore near Navan), to whom he consigned for his education Lonan son of Senan afterwards abbot of Killhuailleach (King's county, Archdall). Jocelin has the same (*cap.* 144). Now this Lonan was contemporary with Finnian of Clonard (*Tr. Th. p.* 174), who died A. D. 552. (Usher. *Ind. Chron.*) In like manner Cromman abbot of Leckin (Westmeath) is reckoned (Tripart. *ib. cap.* 20.) among those persons then appointed by St. Patrick. But Colgan suspects, (*AA. SS. p.* 140. *No.* 5.) that Cromman was contemporary with the renowned Fechin, who died A. D. 664 (665). And, to account for Cromman's having been a disciple of St. Patrick, he has been made to live 180 years. (*Tr. Th. p.* 175). The Tripartite is full of stories of this kind, as in it we find collected a heap of those pretensions to high antiquity, which many religious institutions and episcopal sees were anxious to claim, through a sort of pious vanity not peculiar to Ireland, and of which many instances occur in the ecclesiastical history of almost every Christian country.

(68) *Tr. Th. p.* 174. *no.* 48.

(69) The Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 17.) makes them brothers of the king Leogaire. But from other documents and particularly the third Life (*cap.* 43.) it appears that St. Patrick was not acquainted with any other brothers of Leogaire than Carbre and Conall. Jocelin speaks of them (*cap.* 100.) and mentions another brother called *Leoger*, but different from the king. Some of our anti-

quaries have given more brothers to king Leogaire and sons to Niell Naoigiallach than, I am sure, they really had.

(70) "Interim præmia dabam regibus, propter quod dabam mercedem filiis ipsorum *qui mecum ambulant*." *Confess. p.* 20.

(71) *Ex. c.* The appointment of Mel to the see of Ardagh, although he had not yet arrived in Ireland. It has also Guasactus as then placed bishop at Granard, without, I am sure, any sufficient foundation. In all the other Lives there is nothing about him or any see of his; and had such a circumstance occurred, it would not have been omitted; for in that case Guasactus would have been the first bishop consecrated in Ireland by St. Patrick, and accordingly his name and reputation would have spread far and wide. And it can scarcely be supposed that, at so early at period of our saint's mission, the congregations had become sufficiently numerous or respectable so as to entitle them to be governed by bishops. Concerning Guasact see more above *Not.* 26,

(72) "Ut clerici *ubique* illis ordinarentur ad plebem *nuper* venientem ad credulitatem." *Confess. p.* 14.

(73) O'Connor Map of *Scotia Antiqua*, Seward, &c. See above *Not.* 45.

(74) When we hear of churches erected by St. Patrick, very many of which were certainly of much later foundation, we are not to understand such edifices as are so called in our days, but humble buildings made up of hurdles or wattles, clay and thatch, according to the ancient fashion of Ireland, and which could be put together in a very short time.

§. IX. St. Patrick then set out for Connaught, and not sooner I dare say, considering the time he must have spent in the last mentioned districts, than the year 435. (75) According to the Tripartite he crossed the Shannon at a place called *Snav-daen*, (76) and arriving at *Dumha-graidh* ordained priest one Ailbe (77) different from the great Ailbe of Emly. Among a heap of other transactions, most of which belong to a later period, we find recorded the conversion of Ethnea and Fethlimia daughters of the king Leogaire, who had been placed under the di-

rection of two magi, Mael and Caplat. These men also, notwithstanding their violently opposing St. Patrick at first, are said to have embraced Christianity. (78) The occasion of St. Patrick's meeting with those princesses is thus stated. When advanced into the plain of Connaught (79) he stopped with his clerical companions at a fountain near the royal residence Cruachan (now Croghan near Elphin) and at break of day began to chaunt the praises of the Lord. (80) The ladies, having come very early in the morning to the fountain for the purpose of washing themselves, were struck with the singular appearance of persons clothed in white garments and holding books in their hands. On inquiring who they were and to what species of beings they belonged, whether celestial, aerial, or terrestrial, St. Patrick seized the opportunity of announcing to them the true God author of all; and answering certain questions of theirs, such as, where his God dwelt, in heaven or on the earth, on mountains, in vallies, in the sea, or in rivers; was he rich, how to be revered, was he young or old, had he sons and daughters, were they handsome &c. explained the principal truths of the Christian religion. Delighted with his discourse they expressed a wish to know how they could become acceptable in the sight of the Almighty, and declared themselves ready to go through whatever the saint would command them to do. Accordingly he instructed them; and, on their having professed their belief in the doctrines proposed by him, he also baptized them. In answer to their desire of seeing Christ face to face, he told them that Eucharistic communion was one of the necessary requisites with regard to that object, upon which they said; "Give us the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, that we may be freed from the corruption of the flesh, and see our spouse, who is in heaven. And, St. Patrick then celebrating Mass, they received the holy Eucharist." (81) It is added, that they

died immediately after; but this, I dare say, is a mistake, that originated in their having received the veil, as it is mentioned (82) they did, and thus becoming dead to the world and *nearer to God.* (83) If we are to believe the Tripartite, the church of Elphin was founded about this time, and the place for it is said to have been given to St. Patrick by a magus called Ono. Over this church was placed Asicus who became a bishop, but certainly not as early as the time we are now treating of. (84) Bronus, bishop of Caissel-irra (West Cashel in Co. Sligo) is spoken of also in this part of our saint's history; but, although a disciple of St. Patrick as was also Asicus or Asacus, (85) he did not become a bishop until several years after this period. (86)

(75) Usher places (*Ind. Chron.*) St. Patrick's journey to Connaught in the year 434. His reason for doing so was that, having taken Jocelin for his guide, he passed over the saint's proceedings in Meath, Westmeath, &c. after what had passed between him and Conall (§. VI.), and supposed that he went to Connaught directly from Conall's house. But the order and arrangement of St. Patrick's journeys and excursions, as laid down in the Tripartite, is much more natural and consistent, as will be seen all through, than that of Jocelin. For although the Tripartite, treating of the incidents, that might have occurred in such places as it states the saint to have been in, frequently inserts transactions and names of persons of a much later period, yet it observes a rather regular system with regard to his movements from one place to another, while Jocelin rambles here and there, according as it suited his fancy. As to what he has (*cap.* 55.) concerning St. Patrick's anxious wish to proceed without delay to Connaught, on account of the vision, in which he seemed to hear the voice of persons from near the wood of Foclut (see above *Chap.* IV. §. X.) such an argument would prove too much; for it would thence follow, that he should, immediately on his arrival in Ireland, have gone straight forward to that country, or, at least, have moved thither directly from Ulster. It must likewise be observed, that in said vision the whole nation appeared as if addressing him, and

that accordingly he might have chosen for the theatre of his first exertions such parts of Ireland as he might have thought most favourable to his views. Now the capital, Tarah, and the adjacent districts must naturally have been considered as such; in the same manner as at the commencement of Christianity great cities and capitals, such as Antioch, Rome, Alexandria, &c. were generally fixed upon for the same purpose, and indeed for a very good reason; as whatever becomes prevalent in a metropolis is thereby more speedily and easily diffused through the provinces.

(76) Q. Might it have been near Drum-snave in Leitrim? Ferrar's nonsense about St. Patrick having crossed the Shannon at Lumneach, now Limerick (*Hist. of Limerick p.* 4.) is not worth attention.

(77) I cannot discover the place called Dumha-graidh. It was in Connaught; and so Colgan tells us in his topographical Index, but does not inform us in what part of that province. This is his usual mode of marking the positions of places. He says *in Leinster, in Munster,* &c. and no more. The Ailbe here spoken of was Ailbe of Senchua in Tirellil. How could he be ordained by St. Patrick, particularly at this early period, as he did not die until A. D. 545 (546)? *AA. SS. p.* 191.

(78) The conversion of these magi and of Ethnea and Fethlinnia is related in the third and fourth Lives, Probus, Tripartite, &c.

(79) Probus (*L.* 2. *c.* 13.) has *campum Hai,* which Colgan explains by *Machaire Connacht.* It is the level country of Roscommon. (See Seward at *Magh-nai.*)

(80) So the Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 44.) alluding to the Lauds and Morning service. Probus says, that St. Patrick was then holding a synod near the fountain together with three bishops and many clergymen, and deliberating on ecclesiastical concerns. The third Life also mentions bishops as present. But who were those three bishops at that time? I am sure there were none such then in Ireland.

(81) Probus, *L.* 2. *c.* 15. Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 44, 45. From this passage it appears, how essential it was, according to the opinion of our Irish theologians, for all persons come to the use of reason not to neglect receiving the Eucharist, notwithstanding their having been recently baptized.

(82) Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 44.

(83) St. Patrick makes mention of a young lady of an illustrious family, whom he had baptized, and who some days after came to tell him that she was admonished by a messenger of God to become a virgin of Christ and to come near to God; "Ut esset virgo Christi et ipsa Deo proximaret." He says on this occasion, that the more those virgins were persecuted by their parents the more did their numbers increase. *Conf. p.* 16.

(84) It is impossible, in following the history of St. Patrick as given in the Lives, to determine the true times of the foundation of most of our ancient sees or of the first bishops. It becomes therefore necessary to treat of them under a distinct head, which will be found lower down.

(85) Tirechan's list *ap.* Usher, *p.* 951.

(86) Bron was bishop in St. Brigid's time, and died *A. D.* 511 (512). *Tr. Th. p.* 176.

§. x. St. Patrick, proceeding westward, preached in the territory of Hua Nolella, of which Tirellil or Tiraghrill (Sligo) now forms a part. Among other disciples he left there Cethenus. He is said to have visited the native place of Cethecus (87) another of his disciples, which appears to have been in that district. Some time after he seems to have been at Huarangaradh (Oran in Roscommon) at which place he afterwards erected a church, called *Killgaradh.* (88) Near this place he assigned situations for some Gallic disciples and followers of his, who wished to live in retirement. This is more probable (89) than what we are told of his moving down to the district called Hy-maine, (90) there founding a church at Fidhart, and placing over it a deacon of the name of Justus, who, as the Tripartite adds, when in the 140th year of his age, baptized St. Kieran of Clonmacnois. (91) Next we find him at Mag-scola, at some distance from Elphin to the west, (92) in which place he is said to have held a synod. Among the persons named as bishops on that occasion I find Sacellus of Bais-leac-mor (Baslick, Roscommon) and

Felartus of Domnach-mor in Mag-seola, both of whom were disciples of St. Patrick, (93) but whether then bishops or not there is good reason to doubt. Thence he is said to have gone to the neighbourhood of the lake Techet (now *Lough-Gara, Sligo*) and to have laid the foundation of a church at a place called *Druimnea.* (94) In the same tract, continues our author, he founded the nunnery of Kill-athracta, so called from the virgin Athracta, daughter of Talan and sister of a St. Coeman, (95) whom St. Patrick is said to have placed over it. But it so happens, as will be seen elsewhere, that St. Athracta did not live before some time, and perhaps late, in the sixth century. Turning into the country called *Kierragia Airteach* (96) he there pacified two brothers, who were near killing each other in consequence of a dispute about their paternal inheritance, and got from them a field, (97) in which he erected a church, placing over it Cona a brother of Sacellus. (98) We now find St. Patrick in that part of Mayo, called at present the barony of Costello, where he is said to have instructed one Loarn, and placed him over a church, the name of which is not given. (99) Proceeding westwards to the district called Cera (now barony of Carragh) he preached there, baptized a vast multitude of people, and left among them Conan (100) a priest. Thence he went to Umallia or Hymallia (the territory of the O'Maleys) and there erected a church at *Acadh-fobhuir* (Aghagower) assigning it to Senachus a most holy and humble man, whom, we are told, he consecrated bishop. (101)

(87) Cethecus or Cethiacus is found in Tirechan's list. His mother was of a Tirellil family, and he was born in that country. His father was a Meath man, from Domnach-sarige near Duleek. Cethecus is well known in the Irish Calendars and is called Patrick's bishop, that is, says Colgan, a suffragan of St. Patrick. He is said to have been employed as bishop in various places far distant from each other, as *ex. c.* sometimes at Domnach-sarige.

and other times in Tirellil. In this there is nothing improbable; for although Cethecus could not well have been a bishop before A. D. 440. (see below *Chap.* VI. *Not.* 4.) it is very natural to suppose that St. Patrick wanted the assistance of some bishops, who, without being attached to any fixed sees, might ordain priests, &c. and perform other episcopal functions in places where he could not attend himself. And this was undoubtedly the mode first practised by him; nor was it, I believe, until about the time of the establishment of the see of Armagh, that other regular sees were formed in Ireland. Colgan thought that Cethenus was the same as Cethecus; but they are mentioned distinctly in the Tripartite (*L.* 2. *cap.* 41—48.), and the former is not called a bishop. They are distinguished also in Tirechan's list, one by the name of *Cetennus*, and the other by that of *Cethiacus*.

(88) Cethecus was buried at Kill-garadh or Oran. But it does not thence follow, that he was bishop of Oran, as Archdall says (*Monast. Hib.* at *Oran*). See *Not. prec.* Nor should Oran have appeared among the monasteries; for it was no more than a parish church.

(89) Considering the unhappy state of many parts of Gaul in those times, it is not to be wondered at, that some persons from that country, on hearing of the progress made by their countryman in Ireland, might have taken shelter here. Colgan quotes (*Tr. Th. p.* 177.) from the Litanies of Aengus invocations of Gallic saints, whose remains were in various parts of Ireland. It is, however, more probable that the greatest part of them did not come to Ireland until several years later than this period.

(90) A district partly in Roscommon but chiefly in Galway.

(91) Kieran was born A. D. 516. (Usher *Ind. Chron.*) This, together with the stuff about the 140th year is more than sufficient to show, that Justus could not be placed over a church as early as the Tripartite states. It is also to be observed, that in Kieran's Life he is said to have not only baptized him but likewise instructed him. Yet Archdall, in his usual uncritical manner, gives us an abbey of Fidhard, and, to make the story better, places it both in Roscommon and Galway; founded, he says, by St. Patrick who consigned it to Justus. Besides the incorrectness of the latter part of this statement, Archdall was mistaken

also in calling it an abbey; for the church of Fidhard, according to even the Tripartite, was no more than a deaconry, although afterwards it became a parochial church in the diocese of Elphin, as Colgan says it was in his time.

(92) The situation of Mag-seola, *the field of Seola*, is laid down somewhat precisely in the Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 39), which places it "in regione de *Hy Bruin Seola*, quae haud parum ab Ailfinnia ad occidentem distat." Harris seems to have overlooked this passage; otherwise, he would not have reckoned (*Antiq. ch.* 7.) Hy-Bruin Seola among the *Hy-Bruins*, whose situations are not easy to be guessed at.

(93) Tirechan's list has Sachellus and Falertus. Of either of them very little more is known. Colgan has a bishop Fulartus, or rather Fulartach (*AA. SS.* at *March* 29). Archdall, according to his usual mode of converting churches into monasteries, has introduced the Domnach-more of Falertus into his Monasticon (at *Dunmore* Co. Galway) although the Tripartite, the only authority on the subject, mentions it as simply a church. He is wrong in placing it at Dunmore, whereas it was at the place now called Donaghpatrick in the barony of Clare in said county.

(94) Colgan, without any authority, places (*Tr. Th. p.* 271.) a monastery at Druimnea, and so does his humble follower Archdall. This and some other churches, the foundation of which has, upon no sufficient grounds, been attributed to St. Patrick, would not be worth noticing, were it not for the sort of importance, that these and other writers have attached to them.

(95) Harris is shamefully wrong (*Antiq.* at *Monasteries* p. 270.) in making Athracta a sister of St. Patrick; for, besides that among all those pretended sisters of his (above *Chap.* III. §. XVIII.) no such person as Athracta is mentioned, the family connexions of Athracta are distinctly mentioned both in the Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 54.) and in her Acts at 9th Feb. He is also wrong in placing her nunnery in Roscommon, a mistake which even Ware had fallen into. From the same documents it is clear that it was in some part of Sligo, and the same as Killaraght, a place in the barony of Coolavin, and not, as Archdall says, in the *half barony of Coloony*, there being no such barony or half barony in that county. (*Stat. Survey of Sligo p.* 107.) As to the Killaraght of Roscommon, which also Archdall has, it had either nothing to do

with St. Athracta, or undoubtedly was not her original nunnery.

(96) Kierragia Airteach was a district of what is now called Roscommon, adjoining Kierragia-Airne, which, as O'Flaherty observes, (*marg. not. to Tr. Th. Ind. Geogr.*) is now the barony of Costello in Mayo.

(97) Jocelin has this transaction, be it true or not, (*cap.* 76.) but, through his ignorance of Irish topography, places it in Kerry in Munster. The Kierragia of Munster was distinguished by the surname *Luachra*.

(98) Colgan was inclined to think, that Cona was the same as Mochonna (my Cona) of Cluain-airdne a church in that district, and who is mentioned in the Irish Calendars at September 30. His only reason for doubting of their identity was, that this St. Mochonna's death is assigned by the Four Masters to A. D. 713. (*Tr. Th. p.* 178.) Consequently either he was not the same as Cona, or the Tripartite amidst its numberless anachronisms has placed Cona in times long prior to his real ones.

(99) Here again comes forward Archdall with a monastery, called *Aghamore*. It is curious to observe how he made it out. Colgan, searching for Loarn's church, found a *priest* of that name, who was reputed to be revered in the parish church of Achadmore; but he says nothing about a monastery. Archdall, however, *proprio motu*, converted that church into an abbey, and indeed under the abbot Loarn, as if every parish priest had been an abbot.

(100) There is a Conan in Tirechan's list.

(101) We find in our Ecclesiastical history several persons of the name of Senach. There is one in Tirechan's list. It is not improbable that he was this Senach of Aghagower. *Ecce iterum Crispinus!* Archdall places a monastery under Senach at Aghagower, although in whatever account we have of him no such thing is mentioned, and Colgan more than once (*Tr. Th. p.* 178. 271.) calls Aghagower merely a *bishop's see*.

§. xi. While St. Patrick was thus labouring in Connaught, it is related that on the coming on of Lent (102) he retired to Cruachan-aichle (Mount Eagle) and remained there until he completed the

quadragesimal fast. I do not mean to deny, that he might have spent some part of that holy season in retirement on that mountain; but it is difficult to believe, that he would have absented himself from his converts during the whole of a time, which, according to the universal practice of the Church, particularly required the presence of a bishop among his people. Such a retirement for the purpose of more strictly observing the duties enjoined in Lent would have answered very well for a hermit, but would not have well suited St. Patrick, who, in the then thriving state of his mission, would have been better employed in preparing his Catechumens for baptism at Easter, and those, who were already baptized, for a worthy celebration of that great solemnity. In one of the Lives he is merely said to have retired to the mountain in Lent-time, without any mention of the number of days, which he might have passed there. (103) Or, if it be true, as other Lives state, that he remained 40 days and as many nights on that mountain, I should rather assign those days and nights to some part of the year different from Lent. (104) That precise number of 40 days and nights does not correspond exactly with the whole time of Lent, which, even in St. Patrick's time, consisted, including Sundays, of 42 days. According to the Tripartite, the Lent, which it makes St. Patrick pass on the mountain, although his fasting days are said to have been forty, consisted of 43 days; for it informs us, that he commenced his fast on the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent. (105) Whatever might have been the season of the year, in which the saint observed this fast, we are to consider his fasting only in the same light, as we do that of other holy persons, that is, as consisting in abstinence from food and drink, as far as the calls of nature would permit, and not, as the Tripartite and Jocelin have represented it, in a total abstinence from every sort of aliment dur-

ing 40 days and nights. (106) As to what we read in some of the Lives about St. Patrick having been surrounded by innumerable demons in the form of birds, (107) and his having driven them into the ocean at the foot of the mountain, to which Jocelin has added the expulsion, at the same place, of all poisonous animals collected there from every part of Ireland, (108) it would be a waste of time to dwell upon these and some other fables relative to pretended transactions on Cruachan-aichle. It is indeed very probable, and, considering the constant tradition of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, I dare say certain, that St. Patrick spent some time in prayer, meditation, and fasting, on that mountain, which for said reason has been since called *Cruach Phadruic* (Croagh-Patrick in Mayo,) that is, the *heap or mountain of St. Patrick.*

(102) Harris speaks of this as the Lent of the year 434. Whatever we may think of the truth of the whole transaction, it must be assigned to some year later; for all the proceedings of St. Patrick after his first celebration of Easter A. D. 433 until his arrival at Cruachan-aichle could not be comprized within less than two or three or perhaps more years. The third Life (*cap.* 85.) places the saint's visit to that mountain several years after this period. (See also Jocelin, *cap.* 171.) The Bollandists assign it to about the year 453.

(103) "Exiit in desertum, id est, *Croighan-eigle* in tempore Quadragesimæ ante Pascha." 3d Life, *c.* 85.

(104) Probus, (*L.* 2. *c.* 19.) and the fourth Life (*cap.* 59.) have the 40 days and nights, but do not mention their having been in the time of Lent. Nennius and others, forming a comparison between St. Patrick and Moses (above *Chap.* IV. *§.* 1.) reckon those days without alluding to the Lent-fast. And in fact, were St. Patrick's fasting merely that of Lent, what reason would there have been to liken him to Moses on that account any more than the millions of Christians, who have fasted in that time of the year?

(105) *L.* 2. *c.* 63. The author must here have alluded to the commencement of Lent as observed at his own time in Ireland.

And elsewhere (*L.* 3. *c.* 87.) he expressly calls the Saturday, before the first Sunday, the *first day of Lent, caput jejunii.* This is a circumstance worth noticing. It is well known that, for at least six centuries, the longest Lent in the Western church did not exceed six weeks, and accordingly that the real fasting days were at most 36, Sundays having been always days of exemption. This is the Lent still observed in the diocese of Milan. How and by whom the four days beginning with Ash Wednesday came to be added, it is not easy to ascertain. Perhaps they were introduced gradually; and it is probable that, to check the habit of gormandizing on the last days previous to Lent it was deemed adviseable to anticipate the fast by a day or two, in the same manner as some religious communities do, at present, abstain from flesh meat on some of the last days of Carnival. The Saturday prior to the first Sunday of Lent was, it seems, a day of great feasting and intemperance with our ancestors, particularly as it was not a day of abstinence. To put a stop to such excesses, it was made a part of Lent. As to the three preceding days, I cannot find the precise time, at which they were received as fast days in Ireland. It was probably at a later period than in some other parts of Europe; for those days seem not to have been known by the Irish as a part of Lent, when the Tripartite was compiled, *viz.* in the tenth century. See above, *Chap.* III. §. IV.

(106) The other Lives make no mention of total abstinence. Probus and the author of the fourth Life speak in general terms of St. Patrick's fasting; but it does not hence follow that he did not take some nourishment occasionally. The third Life, as we have seen, merely states, that he went to the mountain in the time of Lent. The wish to make out conformities between him and Moses gave rise to the addition as to complete abstinence; and hence it got into the Tripartite, which mentions those conformities, and into Jocelin's collection of stories. Roth's arguments in favour of it (*Elucid. 4ta in Jocel.*) prove nothing more than its possibility; but, as the schoolmen say, *a posse ad esse non fit conclusio.*

(107) Probus (*L.* 2. *c.* 19.) says that St. Patrick, when he arrived at the top of the mountain, was surrounded by a multitude of birds, but does not call them devils. "Multitudo avium venit circa illum, ita ut non posset videre faciem caeli et terrae ac maris

propter aves." In this there is nothing improbable, as it is easy to believe that sea fowls and various birds of prey might assemble in great numbers on seeing a person in such a lonely spot. It appears, however, that they soon dispersed; for Probus says no more about them. The circumstance became amplified, and the poor birds were transformed into demons.

(108) Jocelin is the only biographer of St. Patrick, that has spoken of the expulsion by him of serpents and other venomous creatures from Ireland. From his book this story made its way into other tracts and even into some breviaries. Had such a wonderful circumstance really occurred, it would have been recorded in our Annals and other works long before Jocelin's time. Colgan has a very good dissertation on this subject, (*Tr. Th. p. 255. seqq.*), in which he refutes Jocelin's assertion and shows the weakness of Roth's arguments in defence of it (*Vindic. 5. in Jocel.*). Among other proofs Colgan alleges, that in the most ancient documents of Irish history there is not the least allusion to venomous animals ever having been found in this country.

§. XII. From this mountain St. Patrick went (109) to Corcothemne, a district, it seems, not far distant, and is said to have there baptized some thousands of persons. In this tract he preached against the superstitious practice of some people, that revered a certain well as containing something divine. (110) Proceeding Northwards he arrives in Tir-Amalgaidh (Tirawley) the country of king Amalgaidh not long before deceased, whose seven (111) sons, after the termination of a dispute concerning the succession to the principality, which had been recently decided by the monarch Leogaire in favour of Enda Crom, were, together with a great number of people, assembled at a place called *Forrach-mac-namalgaidh*. Thither St. Patrick repaired, and having preached to the assembly gained over to Christ the seven princes, including the king, and twelve thousand persons more, all of whom he soon after baptized in a well called *Tobar-enadhare, the well of Enadhare*. (112) This celebrated conversion is mentioned in most of the

Lives of St. Patrick with more or less circumstances, and has been recorded by Nennius and other writers. (113) On this occasion, or not long before the general conversion took place, an attempt was made against St. Patrick's life, in which the Magi were principally concerned; but Enda, one of the converted princes, and his son Conall protected him against their fury, and the sudden death of Recraid their chief deterred the others and made them desist from their wicked purpose. (114) The saint himself, after mentioning his having been in remote parts of Ireland, where no missionary had ever been before, (115) relates that certain persons wished to kill him, but that the Almighty and under him some powerful friends delivered him out of their hands. By those remote parts it is very probable he meant *Tir-Amalgaidh*, which seems to have comprised a greater extent of country than the present barony of Tirawley, and among other tracts some parts of Erris. And a few lines before he speaks of his having baptized several thousands of persons, (116) whereby he seems to allude to the transaction we are now treating of. It has been observed, that by this important event and the great success of St. Patrick in that territory was fulfilled the wish of the people from near Foclut, expressed in a vision many years before, for his coming to their country. (117) The Tripartite and its follower Jocelin say, that St. Patrick placed over these numerous converts the holy Manchen surnamed the *Master;* but that celebrated man, who was also surnamed the *Wise*, and of whom hereafter, lived in the seventh century, and died A. D. 652. (118) A church Domnachmore in that district is spoken of on this occasion and a bishop Mucna; (119) as also the church of Killala, over which, were we to believe the Tripartite, St. Patrick placed Muredach as bishop, who, as will be seen, was not as yet born at that period, having flourished in the sixth century; and it is very probable that Mucna did not live earlier. Before

quitting Tirawley, he is said to have gone to a place near the river Moy, which in after times was called Lia-na-Manach, *the rock of the Monks*, from its having got into possession of certain monks, (120) and to have there converted a prince Eochad son of the former monarch Dathy. (121)

(109) The Tripartite and Jocelin, in consequence of their having placed St. Patrick on the mountain in Lent, make him celebrate Easter immediately after his descent, and, says the former, at Aghagower. The other Lives make no mention of this celebration of Easter.

(110) See *Not.* 43.

(111) The Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 76.) mentions twelve sons, and even gives their names. But lower down (*cap.* 77.) it states that in *St. Patrick's books* only seven sons are spoken of.

(112) I wish some of our antiquaries would point out the precise situations of these places and not merely say with Colgan that they were in Tir-amalgaidh, which even a child could collect from the history of the transaction.

(113) See Usher *p.* 865.

(114) Probus *L.* 2. *c.* 23. See also Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 79—84.

(115) Hence it appears, that St. Patrick knew that in some of those parts of Ireland, which he would not have called *remote*, such as the Eastern and Southern districts, the Christian religion had been announced and practised before his time.

(116) See *Confess. p.* 19, 20. (117) See *Chap.* IV. §. X.

(118) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* Usher indeed, in consequence of his close adherence to Jocelin, mentions the *Master* Manchen at A. D. 434, the year, to which he erroneously assigns the conversion of the princes and people of Tir-Amalgaidh. Colgan does not attempt to fix the date of it, notwithstanding his having usually followed Usher in his chronological calculations. He must have known, that this conversion could not be placed as early as the year 434. And as to Manchen, whom Usher at that year speaks of merely by way of quotation from Jocelin, Colgan's endeavours (*Tr. Th. p.* 111) to find out a Manchen in St. Patrick's time are of no avail; it being evident, from the epithet *Master*, that the

Tripartite and Jocelin alluded to the great Manchen of the 7th century.

(119) A St. Muckin of Magin (in Tirawley) is mentioned in the Irish Calendars at the 4th of March; but there is no account of the time in which he lived. He was probably the same as Mucna, whom the Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 83.) makes mention of, not as having been placed by St. Patrick over Domnach-mor, but rather as having been buried there. Archdall however (at *Domnachmor* in Mayo) reckons it among the abbeys founded by St. Patrick, although even Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 271.) following the Tripartite speaks of it as simply a church. As to Mucna having been placed *bishop* at Domnachmor, Colgan indeed so states it (*AA. SS.* at 4 *Mart.*), but without any sufficient foundation; and then finding himself puzzled about the time that Mucna lived he throws out a conjecture, that his appointment took place A. D. 470; although it is clear, that St. Patrick's preaching in Tirawley was about thirty years prior to that date. Colgan assigns as a reason for this conjecture, that the Tripartite seems to indicate that Mucna was alive about the year 520; for it has (*loc. cit.*), "Venit Patricius ad Ecclesiam de Domnach-mor, ubi *est* episcopus Mucna." He imagined, that *est* referred to Mucna's being alive at the time the Tripartite was written, which he most uncritically (see above *Chap.* III. §. IV.) thought was in the sixth century; and thus, not to make Mucna live too long, he affixed his appointment as bishop to the year 470. But he should have known, that nothing is more common in some of St. Patrick's Lives than to use *est* for *requiescit*; so that the meaning of the passage now quoted is, that Mucna's remains were at Domnach-mor; but at what time they were deposited there we have no means of discovering. At any rate there is not the least foundation for the assertion that he was made bishop by St. Patrick; for the Tripartite, the only authority on the occasion, says nothing about it. I have here said thus much about Mucna, as no other opportunity will occur for treating of him.

(120) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 271) and after him Archdall (at *Lianamach*) have changed this rock into a monastery founded by St. Patrick. The Tripartite, however, which they are pleased to quote, does not mention either church or monastery there, but describes it as a spot forming part of the estate of some monks in

later times, and as having got its name "a monachis *postea possidentibus*." (*L.* 2. *c.* 90.) These monks were probably those of Kilmore or Kilmormoy (*Kilnormoyle*, Archdall), that is, Kilmore near the Moy; for Lianamach is stated to have been above the church of Kilmore. A monastery was erected there, it is said, by one Olcan, whom the Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 92.) calls a disciple of St. Patrick. There is an *Olcan* in Tirechan's list, and also an *Oltcan*. Usher (*p.* 951) makes Olcan bishop of Derkan in Antrim after his return from his studies in Gaul. The founder of Kilmormoy was certainly another person (see Olcan's acts *AA. SS.* at 20 *Febr.*); and whether or not he was Oltcan of the list, I am not able to determine.

(121) Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 91. Jocelin (*cap.* 145.) calls him only a *nobleman*.

§. XIII. Having crossed the Moy near its mouth our Apostle entered Hy-Fiachra (the barony of Tireragh, Sligo) and proceeding along the coast is said to have baptized seven sons of one Drogen, and to have selected among them Mac-erca for the purpose of his being particularly instructed in religion. This Mac-erca, when duly qualified, was some years afterwards placed over the church of Kilroe in Tirawley. (122) St. Patrick having gone as far as the river Sligeach (Sligo) turned towards the East and on his way was opposed by some inhabitants of Calrigia, (123) who, on his addressing them, soon became pacified and asked for his pardon. Wishing to inquire into the state of the churches in some of the back parts of Connaught he went as far as Moylurg, where he was badly received by the family of Mick-erca. Maneus, whom he is said to have baptized some time before and who was afterwards a bishop, (124) is stated to have interceded for them, being a relation of theirs, and thus to have averted a part of the divine vengeance, which was to fall upon that family. The saint then returned to Calrigia, and at Dromahare baptized one Maccarthen. (125) In the neighbourhood of that place he is said to

have erected a monastery at Druimlias, and to have placed over it his *pupil* Benignus, who, it is added, governed it for 20 years. The mention of this circumstance is alone sufficient to show, that, at whatever time there might have been a monastery there, it was not founded by St. Patrick. (126) From that country he went to the maritime parts of North Connaught, and continued his course through Caisseal-irra (West Cashel,) Drumcliff, &c. until he arrived in Ulster. Thus ended his mission in Connaught, where he spent on the whole seven years, having crossed the Shannon three times. (127) We may hence conclude, that his departure from that province did not take place until about the beginning of the year 442.

(122) Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 97. It was a church situated within a mile of Killala (*Stat. Survey of Mayo, p.* 147.), of which some ruins still remain. Archdall is right in placing it in Mayo, but wrong in converting it into a monastery, and still more singularly wrong in saying, that it was erected either by St. Fechin or St. Patrick. Colgan, whom he quotes for that purpose, has no such thing; nor does he mention any patron saint of Kilroe, except Macerca.

(123) This district must, besides a part of Sligo, have comprehended some part of the present county of Leitrim; for Dromahare is mentioned (Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 103) as situated in Calrigia.

(124) See Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 35. Maneus is there said to have been consecrated bishop by Bron; if so, it is difficult to believe, that he was among St. Patrick's followers at this time, that is, about the year 440. See above *Not.* 86.

(125) Who this Maccarthen was, we have no further account. If there was such a man at Dromahare, he was certainly different from the great St. Maccartin of Clogher. The Carten in Tirechan's list was in all probability the latter.

(126) The compilers of the Tripartite in this story about Druimlias (*L.* 2. *c.* 103) plainly alluded to the celebrated Benignus, as appears from their calling him the *alumnus* of St. Patrick. Now this Benignus was, although occasionally employed

here and there, a rather constant companion of the saint, and afterwards became archbishop of Armagh. Who then will believe, that he was left behind at Druimlias and that for 20 years? The Tripartite does indeed mention elsewhere another Benignus, as contemporary with St. Patrick, whom it makes a brother of Cethecus ; but I have no doubt that this Benignus was introduced merely to answer some objection against certain stories about the real Benignus, such as that of his having been abbot of Druimlias. If ever there was a person of that name abbot in said place, he must have lived at a later period. I pass over the multitude of chapels and houses, which, says the Tripartite, (*loc. cit.*) St. Patrick and his disciples built at Druimlias ; things which belong to after times and not to the commencement of a mission. Harris was mistaken in placing Druimlias in Sligo, and has been followed by Archdall, who however, has the same Druimlias again in Leitrim, where alone it ought to be placed. For, as Dr. M'Parlan observes, (*Stat. Survey of Sligo, p.* 100.) there is no such abbey or place in Sligo, it being in Leitrim about a mile East of the town of Dromahare.

(127) The Tripartite has (*L.* 2. *c.* 108.) ; " Tribus autem vicibus trajecto Sinnano flumine, venit in Connaciam, in eaque—mansit annis septem." According to this passage it might seem at first sight, that during those seven years St. Patrick had been twice back and forward in some other province different from Connaught, as it states that he crossed the Shannon three times on his way to that country. And yet, as has been seen in the course of this chapter, the same Tripartite, after having once brought the saint into Connaught, represents him as constantly employed there, and makes no mention of any excursion of his to any other province until his departure for Ulster. There is indeed one passage (*L.* 2. *c.* 101.), which is evidently misplaced ; for, after mentioning St. Patrick's being at Druimlias in Leitrim, he is made to appear in the North of Antrim, and then immediately after we find him travelling along the coast of Sligo from South to North. I think it is easy to reconcile the Tripartite with itself, if it be recollected that St. Patrick had been during those seven years once or twice in some parts of Leitrim to the East of the Shannon, and accordingly had to cross the river a couple of times more for the purpose of getting into the heart

of Connaught. Jocelin also assigns (*cap.* 96.) seven years, and uninterrupted, to St. Patrick's preaching in Connaught; which, considering all his proceedings and exertions there, were not too many.

CHAPTER VI.

Arrival in Ireland of the bishops Secundinus, Auxilius, and Isserninus—St. Patrick's proceedings in Tirconnell, Dalrieda, Dalaradia, and other parts of Ulster—Next in Meath and Leinster—Thence he goes to Cashel—Conversion of Aengus either then, or afterwards, king of Munster—His transactions in other parts of that province—Cause of his writing his Letter against Coroticus—The saint again in Ulster—Some account of Maccaldus, Mocteus, and Maccarthen—Foundation of the church and see of Armagh.

SECT. I.

Before we follow St. Patrick to Ulster, it is necessary to mention a matter of no small importance in our ecclesiastical history, which, according to some of our annalists, occurred during the time that he is stated to have been in Connaught; I mean the arrival in Ireland of the three bishops, Secundinus, Auxilius, and Isserninus, who, we are told, were sent as auxiliaries to St. Patrick in the year 439, (1) but by whom we are not informed. The two former are said to have been brothers, and nephews of the saint by his sister Darerca; but we have already seen (2) what little credit is due to these stories about St. Patrick's relatives. That those three prelates were in Ireland along with our Apostle is unquestionable; but if it be true, that Secundinus and Auxilius were disciples of his, as they are called in Tirechan's list,

how can it be admitted that they first appeared in Ireland as bishops? Nor will it be easy to understand how Auxilius and Isserninus could be said to have come to Ireland at that time, whereas in almost all the Lives of St. Patrick they are spoken of as having joined him in the continent, and having received some degree of clerical ordination at the time that he was consecrated bishop. (3) And they are generally represented as having been among the persons chosen to accompany him on his mission to Ireland. The most satisfactory mode, that I can discover for reconciling these authorities, is, that St. Patrick, finding himself in want of episcopal helpers, had sent them and Secundinus to G. Britain or Gaul for the purpose of their being consecrated bishops according to the established usage of the church, which required the presence of at least three bishops for the consecration of another; and which, although it might be dispensed with in some cases of urgent necessity, our saint, who was well acquainted with the Nicene and other decrees on that subject, did not think himself authorized to depart from, (4) particularly as those countries were not far distant and an intercourse of trade was kept up between them and Ireland. In this manner the difficulty can be readily solved; and it is quite natural to suppose, that St. Patrick would have chosen as his first colleagues those followers and disciples of his, who had been for some years members of the clerical body. It is true, indeed, that Auxilius and Isserninus seem to be spoken of as having been made bishops some years later by St. Patrick himself; but this can be very well understood not of their episcopal consecration, but of their being, after having been employed in various parts of the country, affixed to particular sees. (5) The arrival of those three persons, as bishops and auxiliaries to St. Patrick, about the year 439 was a circumstance well worth recording; but it does not contradict their having been already in Ireland.

(1) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* from the Annals of Ulster and Innisfallen. The latter have; "Secundinus et Auxiliarius (Auxilius) et Esserninus mittuntur in auxilium Patricii; nec tamen tenuerunt apostolatum, nisi Patricius solus."

(2) Chap. III. §. XVIII. (3) Chap. IV. §. XVII—XX.

(4) This observation will enable us to form an opinion concerning those several bishops, whom the Tripartite makes mention of as being in Ireland very soon after St. Patrick's arrival, such as Luman, Asicus, Cethecus, &c. The fact is, that the first bishops in Ireland next after St. Patrick were Secundinus, Auxilius, and Isserninus, who were foreigners and, it seems, from Gaul. With their assistance he consecrated others in the course of his mission. In the order of the holy bishops (*ap.* Usher, *p.* 914.), that were in St. Patrick's time, the first mentioned are those, who were Romans, and Franks, that is, natives of Gaul.

(5) Usher, (*Ind. Chron. ad A.* 448.) following his Tripartite, says, that St. Patrick appointed Auxilius bishop of North Leinster. His see was, from his name, called *Kill-ausaille* (Killossy, Kildare). The third Life (*cap.* 58.) states, that St. Patrick "*ordinavit* ibi Auxilium *discipulum* Patricii." Colgan's Tripartite does not mention ordination, but informs us (*L.* 3. *c.* 18.) that he *left* there Auxilius, and at Kilcullen Isserninus: "In ecclesia, quae, ex ejus nomine denominationem sumens, *Kill-ausaille* vulgo vocatur, *reliquit* S. Auxilium; in Kill-cuillin S. Isserninum." Colgan took it into his head that Isserninus was the same as saint Sezinus or Sezni, an Irish saint celebrated in Britany, whose acts interspersed with fables he has published (*AA. SS. ad Mart.*) from Albert le Grande (*De SS. Britann. Armor.*) Sezinus is said to have been born in Ulster A. D. 402; to have studied at Rome; to have become bishop at *Warrham!* in Ireland; to have arrived in Britany A. D. 477, and to have died at Guic Sezni in that country as late as the year 529, having lived, they tell us, 127 years. Lobineau (*Hist. de Bretagne p.* 76.) mentions St. Sezni, adding that scarcely any thing is known about him except his name. Now Isserninus is always spoken of as a foreigner, and after his consecration lived constantly in Ireland until his death in the year 469. But, because Isserninus has been sometimes called *Serenus*, Colgan, perceiving some affinity between that name and *Sezinus*,

gave himself the useless trouble of striving to identify two quite different persons.

§. 11. St. Patrick being arrived in the province of Ulster preaches in Tirconnell (Donegal) and is said to have erected a church in Rathcunga, (6) and to have thence turned back a little towards the river Erne, near which he gave his blessing to prince Conall, (7) a brother of the king Leogaire, and to his son Fergus. On this occasion, if we are to believe the Tripartite, he foretold the birth and extraordinary sanctity of the great Columba, (8) who was to descend from Fergus. Thence he went to ã small district called *Mag-hithe*, (9) where, they tell us, he founded the church of Domnach-mor, (10) and placed over it one Dubduban. We find him next in the country now called *Inish-owen*, where he is said to have converted the dynast Owen, from whom it has got its name, (11) and to have spent some time with him at Ailech, the place of his residence. (12) He is then stated to have crossed the Foyle and to have remained seven weeks near the river Faughan (Derry). Be this as it may, we are not bound to believe that during this time he laid the foundation of seven churches in that neighbourhood. (13) Soon after we meet with a similar story as to his having, on his return to Innish-owen founded the church of *Domnach-mor-muighe-tochuir*, and placed over it a bishop Maccarthen brother of the Maccarthen afterwards bishop of Clogher. But there was no second bishop Maccarthen; (14) nor can we suppose that the one of Clogher had been first bishop of that church with the long name; so that its pretensions to such great antiquity fall to the ground. (15) The account given, on this occasion, of St. Patrick's having fixed on a place for the erection of the church of Domnach-bile in the same country is, if true, not to be referred, as by some writers, (16) to the then erection of said church, but

to his having marked out a spot as well situated for that purpose, on which the church was afterwards built. And it is still more incorrect to say, that St. Patrick placed over it Aengus, son of Olild; for, according to the Tripartite, this Aengus son of Olild, and grandson of the dynast Owen, is merely said to have been *initiated* in clerical orders by the saint, that is, to have received the tonsure. He was, when arrived at a mature age, probably the founder of that church (17) several years after St. Patrick's visit to Innish-owen.

(6) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 176.) says, that this place was called so in his time, and that it was in the district of Tir-aodha (barony of Tyrhugh). Archdall has changed this church into an abbey of St. Patrick's foundation.

(7) This Conal was surnamed Gulbanius, and was different from the Conal mentioned above *Chap.* V. §. VI.

(8) Adamnan in his second Preface to the Life of Columba mentions a prophecy concerning him by Mauctaneus or Mavateus a holy Briton and a disciple of St. Patrick. Had Adamnan known that St. Patrick himself had delivered such a prophecy, he certainly would have recorded it.

(9) Near the river Fin in Donegal. *Tr. Th. p.* 181.

(10) Donaghmore in the barony of Raphoe, now a rectory. (Seward, *ad loc.*) I need scarcely inform the reader, that *Domnach-mor* (Donaghmore) means a *great church* (*Dominica magna*); and hence comes it that we have so many places of that name in Ireland.

(11) *Innish-owen* the Island or rather peninsula of Owen.

(12) Three miles to the North of Derry. (Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 181.) I very much suspect the truth of what is said in the Tripartite concerning the early conversion of several of those princes or chieftains. St. Patrick speaks of them as, in general, adverse to him, although some of their sons and daughters became Christians, *filii Scottorum et filiae regulorum* (see *Chap.* V. §. VI. *not.* 56.); and several of the former accompanied him in his spiritual expeditions, (*ib.* §. VIII.) while many of the latter embraced the state of Christian virginity, notwithstanding the persecution

they suffered on that account from their parents. It is clear from his Confession, that at the time he wrote it the greatest part of the kings or chiefs were not as yet converted; for he makes mention of the sufferings of himself and his followers, and of the precautions he used to take against giving occasion to a *general* persecution, using, among other means, that of making presents to those kings, some of whom, however, while obstinate themselves, allowed their sons to follow him.

(13) The Tripartite (*L. 2. c.* 119.) goes so far as even to give the names of six of those churches; but Colgan could not find any account of them, one only excepted and that obscure enough, *viz.* Badoney, which Archdall might have passed over without swelling his Monasticon with it. If such churches had been really erected by St. Patrick, they would have been well known and held in high estimation.

(14) There is but one Maccarthen or Carthen in Tirechan's list. In the fragment of the Life of Maccarthen of Clogher (*ap.* Colgan *AA. SS.* 24 *Mart.*) there is no allusion to a brother Maccarthen; nor does Usher, who had a Life of him (*Pr. p.* 856.) mention any such brother. The good people of that church in Innish-owen wished, I dare say, to claim the honour of its having been governed by the celebrated prelate of Clogher; but the compilers of the Tripartite, finding that this could not accord with the circumstance of his life, and striving to patch up the business, introduced the second Maccarthen. And we may observe that the real Maccarthen was most probably too young, at the period we are treating of, to be a bishop; for he lived until A. D. 506.

(15) Archdall, following the Tripartite, makes mention of this church at *Domnach-gleanne Tochuir.*

(16) Harris, *Bishops, p.* 18.. Archdall, at *Movill* (Donegal).

(17) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 181.) says that Domnagh-bile was afterwards called Magh-bile, and that a monastery was there, which, however, he neither ascribes to St. Patrick, nor exhibits as placed by him under Aengus. These circumstance we find in Archdall alone, who has also strangely confounded the account of Magh-bile or *Movill* of Donegal with that of Movill in Down, a well known monastery, which was governed by St. Finnian in the sixth century, and continued in a flourishing state to a very late period. As to Movill in Donegal I much doubt, whether it

was ever a monastery; for Colgan, although he thought so, yet could not make out any one abbot of it. Harris (*Monasteries*) has the two Movills or *Maghbiles*, and attributes the foundation of both of them to St. Finnian. Archdall goes further, and pretends to give the names of some of the abbots of Movill in *Donegall*, such as Finnian, Siollan, Aengus, M'Loingsy, &c. Now these are the same identical persons, whom with many others he reckons at Movill in *Down*, where indeed and where alone they ought to be. He was led astray by the *Index topographicus* to Colgan's *AA. SS.* in which Finnian is mentioned as having been at both Maghbiles. The compiler of that Index, who probably was not Colgan himself, was deceived by the identity of the name *Maghbile*, which signifies the *plain of the tree or trees*. In our Calendars, Martyrologies, and Annals Maghbile is often mentioned, and in a general and absolute manner, without any allusion to a second monastery of that name. Ware was therefore right in marking but one *Maghbile* or *Movill*, viz. that of Down, and ought to have been adhered to by Harris.

§. III. Our Apostle now departs from Innishowen and, crossing the streights at the North end of Lough-Foyle, proceeds to Dun-Cruthen (18) where, we are told, he placed a bishop of the name of Beatus. (19) Not to dwell on some stuff about seven churches said to have been founded in that neighbourhood by St. Patrick in as many weeks, and of which Colgan could find no account, we next meet with him at the eastern side of the Bann, (20) and moving forward through Dalrieda, in which country he is said to have baptized a posthumous infant, to whom he gave the name of Olcan, (21) and who afterwards became bishop of Derkan. Several churches are here mentioned as erected by him in Dalrieda, as likewise the persons, partly bishops and partly priests, placed over them, all of whom, together with their churches, (22) we may pass over without the least injury to the true history of our saint. From Dalrieda he went to Dalradia, in which country he is said to have founded many churches, the origin of which is, however, so

uncertain, that it would not be worth while to mention any of them, had they not been introduced as monasteries by Archdall into the Monasticon. (23) In a part of the country near Lough-ethach (Loughneagh), and at the East of it, St. Patrick was opposed by a chieftain named Carthen, and forced to quit his territory. It is added that a younger brother, also called Carthen, who lived in another part of that district, became a convert. Having gone from Dalaradia to the tract called *Gaura*, (24) he was badly received there and driven out by the people. Accordingly he turned off to the district of Imchlair, and having converted a considerable number of people placed over them a priest named Columb. (25) While he was still in those parts (the now county of Tyrone) Cinnia, (26) daughter of a dynast named Echodius, became a Christian and dedicated her virginity to the Son of God, notwithstanding the great opposition she met with at first from her father, who, however, although unwilling to become a Christian himself at that time, was induced by the saint to permit her to take the veil. St. Patrick then entrusted Cinnia to the care of the holy virgin Cetamaria, (27) who lived in the nunnery of Drum-dubhain. Thence he went to a small territory, called *Hua-meith-tire*, in which he is said to have erected a church at Teaghtalian (now *Tehallan*) (28) and to have placed over it a bishop Killen. (29) The chief of the district, Owen son of Brian, together with his subjects embraced, we are told, the Christian faith on this occasion. From that district St. Patrick went to the *adjoining* territory of the Mugdorni (*Cremourne* (30) in Monaghan), and having arrived at a place called at a *later period Domnach-maigen* (Donaghmain) is said to have converted Victor proprietor of it, who, if we are to believe the Tripartite, made over his lands and property to the Church, and after some years became bishop in that place. (31) The saint's preaching is stated to have been attended

with great success throughout all the country of the Mogdurni.

(18) Colgan threw out a conjecture that Dun-cruthen was the same as the present Dunboe, and has been followed by Archdall. It is probable, that Duncruthen was situated elsewhere. (See the Rev. Mr. Sampson's excellent work, *Stat. Survey of the Co. of L. Derry, p.* 487.) It was not far from the district called *Kennacta* (Kenaght in L. Derry) which the Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 125.) thus joins with it; "In *istis* partibus in regione Kennactae," &c.

(19) Among several persons of the name *Beoadh* or *Beoan* Colgan has endeavoured to discover which of them this Beatus was, but could not come to any decision. The Tripartite represents him as the intimate friend of a holy man, named Eugenius, who very probably was Eugenius bishop of Ardstrath (Tyrone) in the sixth century. If so, Beatus was not contemporary with St. Patrick.

(20) Harris says that St. Patrick crossed the Bann at Coleraine. Where he got this information I do not know; for it is not given either in the Tripartite or by Colgan.

(21) This is the Olcan, whom Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) makes return from Gaul A. D. 450 after having completed his studies. But, if he was born about the time we are now treating of, that is, about the year 443, how could he have finished his education in 450?

(22) Archdall has contrived to swell up his book with many of those pretended foundations of St. Patrick in the part of Antrim called *Dalriada*. Thus he has Rathmoane (*Rathmodain*), which, whatever was its origin, is spoken of as merely a church under the care of a priest. He has also Achadhnacill, a place not mentioned in the Tripartite or in any of St. Patrick's Lives. The process, by which he made out this monastery, is rather curious. A priest Cathbad is mentioned (Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 130.) as placed over a church at Fothrat. Colgan suspected, that he might have been the same as St. Cathub, who was revered at Achadcinn or Achadnacill. Here Archdall comes in and tells us, that this church was built by St. Patrick, although Colgan does not say so; nor indeed could he; for Cathub, who governed that church, died, as Colgan himself informs us (*AA. SS. p.* 192.) from the 4 Masters, A. D.

554 (555) and consequently was not appointed to Achadnacill by St. Patrick. Then we have Tulach, notwithstanding its being called only a church, over which is said to have been placed a bishop Nehemias, concerning whom Colgan could make out nothing satisfactory. The person alluded to was, I dare say, no other than a St. Nehemias, who died in the year 654. Next we have from Archdall Domnachcoinre, a church, which by whomsoever built, probably by a person of the name of Conry, had nothing to do with a monastery. In like manner he has converted the plain church of Druimindeich into an abbey. The Enan, who is said to have presided over it, was probably, as Colgan thought, Enan son of Muadan, whose festival was held on the 25th of March. (see *AA. SS.*) Now this Enan was a disciple of Comgall o Bangor, and accordingly must have lived late in the sixth century. Another of those monasteries of Archdall is Kilitragh (*Caill-ectrann*) a mere church said to have been placed under a bishop Fiachrius.

(23) Archdall has covered over Dalaradia (part of which near Lough-neagh was called *Hy-tuirtre*) with monasteries founded by St. Patrick. 1. Domnachbruin, or rather *Domnachbrain*. 2. Domnach-combuir. 3. Domnachfothairbe. 4. Domnachlibeir. 5. Domnachmoclain. 6. Domnachmor in *Magh damhorna* likewise in *Dalaradia*, not *Dalrieda* as Archdall has it. 7. Domnach-riascaigh. 8. Domnachrighduin. 9. Domnachsainre (*Domnachfainre*, Tripart.) 10. Gleann-indeachta. 11. Gluaire, also in Dalaradia. 12. Imleachcluam. 13. Kilglais. 14. Lanavach. 15. Rath-easpuic-inmic. 16. Rathsithe. Colgan was not able to give any account of the greatest part of these churches, nor excepting Domnach-combuir, does he call them monasteries. The very names of many of them refer to founders different from St. Patrick. Thus Domnach-brain was a church founded by a person of the name of *Brain*; Domnach-libeir by one *Libeir*, a name that occurs more than once in our history; Domnach-moclain, by a Mullen or O'Mullen, &c. Amidst the little that is known concerning three or four of them there is nothing to prove, that they were erected by our saint. For instance, St. Molassius is said to rest at Gluaire. We find two or three eminent persons of that name in the sixth or seventh century, one of whom might have been the founder of that church. In like manner St. Coeman is said to be at the

church in Imleachcluann, and Colgan observes that there was a church called *Kill-coeman* in the diocese of Connor. More than one Coeman or Coman are celebrated among the Irish saints; but they all lived later than the period we are now treating of. Rath-easpuic-innic, that is, the *fort of bishop Innic*, was so called, says the Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 133.) from the bishop Vinnoc, whom St. Patrick placed over it. Jocelin (*cap.* 149.) and the third Life (*cap.* 71.) have a holy man Vinnoc contemporary with St. Patrick, but do not call him bishop. Most probably he was the same as Finnian or Finan who, although different from the great Finnian of Clonard, yet lived at the same time, that is, in the sixth century. *Finan* and *Vinan* are the same name in Irish; thus Adamnan writes *Vinnian* for *Finnian*. *Vinan* and *Vinnoc* are likewise the same, being diminutives of Vin or Fin; in the same manner as *Coeman Coemoc*, *Aedan Aedoc*, &c. Finan was, as appears from his having been under the direction of Coelan of Nendrum, (see Usher, *p.* 954.) a native of some part of the north of Ireland not far remote from the place where Rath-espuic-innic is stated to have been, *viz.* in the now barony of Antrim. On the whole, with regard to the greatest part of these establishments, there is no sufficient authority to show, that they owe their origin to St. Patrick.

(24) This district was, it seems, near Lough-neagh to the S. East and South.

(25) Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 142. No church is mentioned. Colgan remarks, that in *Imchlair*, alias, Maghclair (a tract in the neighbourhood of Dungannon) there was a church called Donnach-mor, in which a priest Columb was revered. Archdall seized upon this observation, and thence made out that the abbey of Donagh-more in Tyrone was founded by St. Patrick, although the Tripartite, which alone could be appealed to, makes no mention even of a church there in St. Patrick's time.

(26) See above *Chap.* III. §. XVIII.

(27) Jocelin (*cap.* 79.) calls her *Cethuberis*, and says she was the first Irish virgin, that took the veil. This he repeats, *cap.* 188, where he gives her the name of *Ethembria*; but where he got his information I cannot discover.

(28) Tehallan is in the county of Monaghan and barony of Monaghan. Hence it appears, that Harris was mistaken (*Antiq.*

ch. 7.) in making *Hy-meith-tire* the same as the present barony of Orior in Armagh. The name *Teagh-talain*, the *house of Talan*, seems to indicate a church founded by one Talan; for several Irish churches were denominated in like manner; *ex. c. Teagh-Munnu*, Taghmon in Wexford. Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 184.) observes, that there was a St. Tellan son of Colgan a chief of that very district, whose name is in the Irish Calendars at June 25. There can be little doubt that from him said church got its name; if so, it was not founded by St. Patrick.

(29) The festival of St. Killen was kept at Tehallan on the 27th of May; but we are not bound to believe, that he was placed there by St. Patrick. There were so many saints of the name of *Killen* (see *AA. SS. p.* 331.), that we cannot decide which of them he was.

(30) It is evident from the whole context, that the *regio Mugdornorum* (Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 12.) was no other than Cremourne, the name of which was derived from the Irish *Crioch-Mugdorn* (*Crioch* nation, country). Colgan was wrong in confounding it with the mountainous country of Mourne in Down; for surely this country does not join the barony of Monaghan. In his Topographical index to *Tr. Th.* he calls it *Mugdorna*, while the Tripartite has not that name but designates it as the territory of the Mogdurni. Harris, it seems, took his *Mogdurna* (*Antiq. ch.* 7.) from Colgan, and with him makes it the same as Mourne in Down. It is probable that Mourne also was called Mugdorn; but the *regio Mogdurnorum* mentioned in the Tripartite, was certainly in Monaghan. Nor was it confined to what is now called *Cremourne;* for Donaghmain, which has given its name to an adjoining barony in said county, was in it.

(31) Jocelin also has (*cap.* 139) Domnach-*maghin*, as he spells it, Victor, &c. but, as well as the Tripartite, says nothing about a monastery. Archdall, however, could not let it escape, and to mend the matter, has placed it in Mourne in Down, where no *Domnach-maghin* is to be found. It was no other than the village, now called *Donaghmain*, in the barony of said name and county of Monaghan. *Victor* would have been a strange name for an Irishman in St. Patrick's days; and as to donations of lands, &c. made to the saint we have already seen in what light they ought to be considered.

§. IV. Thence he proceeded to Meath, and, having instructed the inhabitants of the northern parts of that province, arrived at Bile-tortan near Ardbraccan, and there is said to have laid the foundation of a church afterwards called *Domnach-tortan* (32) and to have placed over it Justin a priest. (33) He visited also the country about Slane, probably for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the congregations, which had been formed in that neighbourhood since the year 433. I am very much inclined to think, that it was during the time passed on this occasion in Meath, and which might have been about the beginning of A. D. 443, (34) that he left in that country the bishop Secundinus, who although he chose for his ordinary residence *Domnach-Sachnall* (35) (Dunshaghlin), yet, as appears from various circumstances, was entrusted with the care of the new converts, not only in Meath but in the more nothern parts of Ireland, (36) while St. Patrick was proceeding on his mission through Leinster and Munster. The suffraganship of Secundinus lasted about six years; (37) and, as he died A. D. 448, we may place the commencement of it early in 443, a date which agrees very well with the whole tenour of St. Patrick's proceedings.

(32) Archdall (at *Donaghmore*, Meath) has changed this church into a monastery called, he says, *Bile-tortan*. But this was the name of the place in Pagan times. He then tells us, that it is the same as Donaghmore near Navan; but Colgan, whom he refers to, does not say so.

(33) In Tirechan's list of St. Patrick's disciples there is a Justianus.

(34) Compare with *Chap.* V. §. XIII.

(35) The place got its name from Secundinus, whom the Irish called *Sechnall*. *Domnach-Sechnall*, the *Dominica* or church of Sechnall. The name has been gradually corrupted into *Dunshaughlin*, or *Dunshaglin*. See Usher. *Pr. p.* 826. and Ware *Opusc. S. P. p.* 150.

(36) The Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 98.) calls him St. Patrick's *Vicar* and *Suffragan*, although it states (*ib. c.* 86.) his usual residence to have been at Dunshaghlin. And in another (*ib. cap.* 81.) St. Patrick is said to have charged him with the care of the arch-see of Armagh and of the primacy during his own absence. This is a garbled account founded on the true one; I say, *garbled*, because Secundinus was dead before that see was established. The absence, indeed, alluded to in the Tripartite is said to have occured on occasion of the saint's going to Rome; but it is certain that St. Patrick never went to that city after his arrival in Ireland as a preacher of the Gospel. The real absence was that caused by the saint's spiritual tour to the South of Ireland; and accordingly Secundinus was left in charge of the northern districts, and consequently among others of those, which afterwards belonged to the see of Armagh.

(37) Usher, (*p.* 875.) thinks, that *six years* is the true reading relative to Secundinus as spoken of in an old catalogue of bishops of Armagh. And although he supposed, that said see was founded in the year 445, yet he maintains that Secundinus was never bishop of it. The fact is, that the story of his having governed that see originated in his having been invested with a very extensive jurisdiction in the North during St. Patrick's absence.

§. v. Matters being thus settled in Meath, our Apostle moved into Leinster, and going straight forward to Naas, the residence of the kings of that province, is said to have baptized in a fountain near the North side of the town the princes Illand and Alild, (38) sons of king Dunlung, both of whom became afterwards sovereigns of Leinster. (39) An anecdote is related of one Foillen an officer of the court of Naas, who pretending to be asleep, lest he should comply with the saint's wish to see and instruct him, slept in earnest never to wake again in this world. (40) St. Patrick turning into Hy-Garrchon, that is, into some part of the present county of Wicklow (41) was very badly received by Drichir prince of that country, who knowing the enmity, that his father-in-law king Leogaire bore to the saint, became also

hostile to him. But he was most hospitably entertained by a man in an humble walk of life, named *Killin*, who even killed the only cow that he possessed for the purpose of treating the saint and his companions. (42) This good man was amply rewarded for his attention by the blessings, that came upon himself and his family in consequence of the saint's benediction. From that country St. Patrick went to *Maghliffe*, or the now county Kildare, through which the Liffey winds its course, and having laid the foundation of several churches, and arranged the boundaries of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, left some of his companions in those tracts, and, among others, bishop Auxilius at Killossy, and bishop Isserninus at Kilcullen.(43) How long he remained in that country we are not informed; but, considering the length of time requisite for the transactions now mentioned, it may be reasonably supposed, that he did not leave it until about the latter end of the year 443. (44) Thence he went to Leix (now part of the Queen's county) and when arrived at its borders got notice from a pious lady, called Briga, of a snare prepared for him and his followers by the people of a part of that district, by means of which it was intended to entrap them in the bogs and kill them. They, however, continued their course and providentially escaped without falling into the pits. The saint then proceeded to the house of his friend the arch-poet Dubtach, who lived in Hy-Kinsellagh, that is, as it seems, in the parts of that great territory (45) which is now comprized within the county Carlow. In one of their conversations on religious subjects St. Patrick asked him did he know any one in that country whom he would think fit to be promoted to holy orders. Dubtach answered that he had a disciple named Fiech, (46) then absent, whom he thought well disposed for that purpose. Before the conversation was ended Fiech returned from Connaught, whither Dubtach had sent him to present

some poems of his composition to the princes of that province. (47) Fiech was of an illustrious family, being son of Erc of the house of Hy-Bairrche in Leinster. (48) At the time of his meeting St. Patrick he was already a Christian, or, at least, a catechumen. (49) Some accounts add, that he was then a widower, his wife having died not long before and left an only son named Fiachre. (50) The saint, finding him properly qualified, gave him the clerical tonsure, and supplied him with the necessary means for cultivating the ecclesiastical studies, in which he made great progress as well as in piety. After some time he became a bishop, (51) being the first Leinster-man that was raised to the episcopacy, (52) and at length the chief bishop of the whole province. (53) His see was at Sletty; (54) and he is said to have governed also a monastery, which was called *Domnach-Fiech*. (55) He has been ever since held in a very high degree of respect and veneration, (56) and seems to have lived to a great age; for it is said, that sixty of his pious disciples departed this life before himself. St. Patrick is stated to have met with great encouragement from Crimthan son of Enda Kinsellagh and king of Hy-kinsellagh, who, although hostile to Fiech and his connexions, is represented as a pious prince that founded and endowed seventy churches, (57) two or three of which are mentioned by name. (58) The saint moving forward arrived in Ossory, and there, according to the Tripartite, converted numbers of people, and founded many churches, &c. none of which, nor their superiors, are particularly specified.

(38) According to the 4 Masters Illand died A. D. 506, and Alild in 526. As to the former having been baptized by St. Patrick the difficulty with the regard to time might be got over; but how can we account for the baptism of Alild at that time, particularly as the Tripartite adds, (*L.* 3. *c.* 16.) that two daughters of his Mugania and Fethlimia, were also baptized by the saint in the

same fountain? Supposing Alild to have been then only 24 years old, we should admit that he reached an age of above 100 years. Usher's Tripartite (*Pr. p.* 826.) is more cautious on this point; for it mentions in general terms, that the sons of Dunlung, who ruled in North Leinster, believed and were baptized. Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigns their baptism to A. D. 448 in pursuance of his calculations, according to which St. Patrick founded the see of Armagh, went to Great Britain, &c. before he set out for Leinster. But his system cannot be reconciled with the series of our saint's transactions as given in the Tripartite.

(39) Jocelin has cunningly omitted the whole of what is said about St. Patrick having been at Naas, and, instead of it, has given (*cap.* 69. *seqq.*) some fables concerning his having, after coming from Meath, crossed Finglas river, and from an eminence at about a mile from the village of Ath-cliath, now Dublin (I suppose the high ground about the Royal Canal) blessed it and foretold its future greatness and prosperity. Then comes a heap of trash, which bears every mark of interpolation, unless we suppose that Jocelin could in one breath have contradicted himself, about a great city of Dublin as having been founded by the Norwegians, &c. and existing in St. Patrick's time, its king Alphin, and his daughter Dublinia, from whom the city took its name, &c. &c. Among other stories we read that the king and the citizens of Dublin, to show their gratitude to St. Patrick, became tributary to the see of Armagh. This nonsense was undoubtedly fabricated at Armagh, and either Jocelin was induced, in compliment to his patron the archbishop Thomas, to insert it in his book, or it was foisted by some other hand into his *MS.* Usher has given some of these stories (*p.* 861. *seqq.*) and affixed them to A. D. 448. See *Not. prec.*) Harris also touches on them (*Bishops, p.* 20). But they are not worth the trouble of refutation; as neither Ath-cliath nor Dublin, nor king Alphin, are ever mentioned in the other Lives of St. Patrick; nor would the Tripartite, which was so very minute as to the places where the saint was, or might have been, and particularly if kings were in the way, omitted the circumstances, had there been any foundation for them.

(40) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 15. Hence the imprecation, which, adds the Tripartite, a person wishing bad rest to another used to pro-

nounce: *May he sleep as Foillen did in the castle of Naas.* Colgan says, (*Tr. Th. p.* 112.) that this imprecation was used in his time. It would not be worth mentioning, were it not to show how Jocelin has shifted the scene of this anecdote to serve his purpose of bringing St. Patrick to Ath-cliath or Dublin. For he says (*cap.* 72.) that it occurred at Castle-knock just after the saint had left Dublin, and, the better to hide his trick, calls that unfortunate man not *Foillen* but *Murin.*

(41) See *Chap.* I. §. VI.

(42) Tripart. (*L.* 3. *c.* 17.) Here is another proof furnished by the Tripartite itself, that St. Patrick did not always abstain from flesh-meat. (See above *Chap.* IV. *Not.* 53.)

(43) See above *Not.* 5. Killossy is placed by Rawson (*Stat. Survey of Kildare p.* VI.) within a mile of Nass. Archdall is wrong in saying that it was *not far* from Kildare, and also in making St. Patrick found an abbey there—wrong likewise in calling Auxilius a nephew of his. (See *Chap.* III. §. XVIII.) The Kilcullen, where Isserninus was fixed is what we now call *Old Kilcullen,* formerly a respectable town. The new *Kilcullen* or Kilcullen-bridge was not known until the 14th century (Rawson *ib. p.* VII. and Seward at *Kilcullen*). The Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 18.) joins Mactalius as left with Isserninus at Kilcullen; but, although he was certainly bishop of that place, he could not have been there, even as a disciple, at the time of Isserninus' appointment; for, as Colgan (*Not. ad loc.*) observes from the Annals of the 4 Masters, he lived until the year 548 (549). In O'Conor's map of Scotia Antiqua (*Dissertations* &c.) *Maghliffe*, or, as he calls it, *Moy-Liffe*, is erroneously made to be the same as the Co. Dublin. Killossy and Kilcullen, which the Tripartite places in *Maghliffe*, surely are not in this county.

(44) Usher, following his erroneous calculations of which above (*Not.* 38.) affixes the appointment of Auxilius, &c. and other transactions in North Leinster to A. D. 448.

(45) Hy-Kinsellagh was the Southern part of Leinster (*Tr. Th. p.* 565). Harris says (*Irish Writers at Fiech*) that it comprehended part of the counties of Wexford, Carlow, and Queen's county. And yet, strange to tell, in his account of ancient territories (*Antiq. ch.* 7.) he confines it to a *great part of the county of Wexford.* Now instead of thus confining it, he should have added

to it the county of Kilkenny, as Seward has done, who however ought not to have added Wicklow.

(46) See *Chap.* V. §. v.

(47) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 21. Here we have a proof that the art of writing was known and practised in Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick. (See *Chap.* V. *Not.* 31.) It is very remarkable that although Fiech must, as a scholar of Dubtach, have known how to write, yet in the very same chapter of the Tripartite the saint is stated to have given him an alphabet written with his own hand for the purpose of his learning it; that is, the Roman alphabet to enable him to learn Latin.

(48) Fiech's Scholiast, *No.* 1.

(49) The Scholiast (*ib.*) represents him as a Christian and fit to receive immediately the clerical tonsure. According to the Tripartite he was then only a catechumen, and is said to have been baptized by St. Patrick. Dubtach might have been his instructor in the Christian religion as well as in the Bardic profession. I think it also very probable, that there were several Christians in said district about that time; otherwise, how could St. Patrick have consulted Dubtach concerning persons of his acquaintance fit to be admitted into the clerical order? They should have been believers in Christ before such a question could have been asked. As to the persons, by whom they had been instructed, baptized, &c. we may suppose that they were visited occasionally by some priests either of St. Patrick's or Palladius' appointment, or by some of those who were in Ireland before the arrival of Palladius. (See *Chap.* I. §. xv.)

(50) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 21. The Scholiast does not mention these circumstances. But in several Callendars, &c. quoted by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 185.) Fiachre is called the son of Fiech, and they are mentioned as jointly revered in certain churches.

(51) Scholiast, *No.* 1. Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 21. Jocelin, *cap.* 115. In the passages now referred to Fiech is not stated to have been consecrated bishop by St. Patrick on this first occasion of the saint's being in Hy-Kinsellagh, but after some time, as the Scholiast expresses it; "Et *postea* ab eodem (Patricio) consecratus est episcopus." Jocelin adds, that he was not consecrated until he regularly officiated in the subordinate orders. At any rate it is not to be imagined that Fiech, who received the first rudiments of

ecclesiastical learning from St. Patrick himself, would have been raised to the episcopacy until after some not inconsiderable lapse of time; and hence it appears that Usher was wrong in affixing (*Ind. Chron.*) Fiech's consecration to the same year that he supposed St. Patrick to have arrived in Hy-Kinsellagh, after the appointment of Auxilius, &c. *viz.* A. D. 448 (see *Not.* 44.); not that Fiech might not have been a bishop in that year, admitting, what seems very probable, that his first interview with St. Patrick was about the beginning of the year 444.

(52) Tripart. *loc. cit.*

(53) Tripart. *loc. cit.* Scholiast *No.* 1. This precedency of Fiech was, I dare say, originally meant as relative to only South Leinster; or, if it be understood of the entire province, must be explained as not having taken place until after the death of Auxilius and Isserninius. And in fact the Scholiast mentions it in terms, that indicate a time much later than when Fiech was first made a bishop. After *episcopus* (above *Not.* 51) he adds; "et *tandem* Lageniæ archiepiscopus institutus." As to the meaning of the title, *archbishop*, when given to the other prelates besides the metropolitan of Armagh, we shall see elsewhere.

(54) In the Queen's county about a mile to the West of Carlow, and not far from the river Barrow.

(55) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 23. Jocelin, *cap.* 117. This monastery is stated to have been at the East of the Barrow, and consequently in some part of the now county Carlow. Jocelin says it was at a place called *Porrach*, and tells us it was founded after Fiech had been fixed at Sletty; while the Tripartite mentions it as Fiech's first establishment, over which he presided for a considerable time until he removed to Sletty at the west side of the river. Archdall (at *Sletty*) has confounded those two churches together, notwithstanding the very precise manner, in which they are distinguished in the passages here referred to.

(56) Probus (*L* 1. *c.* 41.) calls him an admirable bishop; "Mirabilis episcopus factus est in *Themoria*." How *Themoria* (Tarah) got into Probus' text, I cannot discover. All the other writers, and they are not few, who speak of Fiech, represent him as bishop at Sletty. To his great reputation is owing the mistake of the celebrated hymn or metrical Life of St. Patrick having been attributed to him, in the same manner as many tracts, whose au-

thors were unknown, have been attributed to St. Augustin. Although that hymn is very ancient, yet it is evident that the author of it was not contemporary with St. Patrick.

(57) Tripartite, *L.* 3. *c.* 25. This is the most extravagant flourish I have met with as yet in honour of any of the Irish princes. It is not easy to reconcile Crimthan's piety, or even Christianity, with the hatred which he is said to have borne to the family to which Fiech belonged. If he was king of Hy-kinsellagh at the time St. Patrick was there, that is, about A. D. 444, he must have retained his bodily powers for a very long time; for we find him fighting battles in the year 483, (Usher, *Ind. Chron.*) or 471 (4 Masters *Tr. Th. p.* 565). Colgan, however, quotes the same 4 Masters (*Tr. Th. p.* 185) as stating, that Crimthan was killed in the year 465 (466), and O'Flaherty maintains, in opposition to Colgan, that this is the true account of Crimthan. (*MS. Notes* to *Tr. Th. p.* 565 and 155.) Be this as it may, we may safely reject at least the story of his 70 churches.

(58) One of these churches is said to have been at Inisfail and another at Inisbeg, both which were, according to Colgan, (*Tr. Th. p.* 186.) in the diocese of Ferns, but in what part of it he does not inform us, nor can I find elsewhere. The Tripartite makes St. Patrick place over the former St. Conoc and St. Cadoc; but Conoc, or Mochonoc, and Cadoc, who was his nephew, flourished elsewhere and not until the sixth century (*Ad. SS.* at *Conoc*, 11 February). And at Inisbeg it mentions Erdicus and Augustin. By Erdicus was probably meant Benedict, who, together with Augustin, had been in Ireland with Palladius, and afterwards called upon St. Patrick at Eboria. (See above *Chap.* IV. §. XVIII.) It would require great credulity to believe, that those two companions of Palladius would have been left at an obscure church, of which no trace is to be found. To add to the confusion, Augustin of Innisbeg is said to have been a disciple of Fiech (Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 22.). If so, he was not placed there by St. Patrick. Archdall has, as usual, changed these two churches into monasteries, and in the county of Wexford, with the appendage of being founded by St. Patrick, &c.

§. VI. St. Patrick now proceeding to Munster goes straight forward to Cashel, the usual residence of the

kings of that province (59) On his approaching the city, which probably was about the beginning of A. D. 445, (60) it is related that the king went out to meet him, and having welcomed him with great respect conducted him to his court. (61) The king is generally said to have been the celebrated Aengus son of Natfraich, whose piety and zeal for religion has been most highly praised by many of our ancient writers. Although it cannot be doubted that he became a Christian, his accession to the throne seems to have been some years later than the time we are now treating of; (62) and in that case it will follow, that, if he was converted by St. Patrick, he was not then a king but one of those young princes, who, as the saint himself informs us, had embraced Christianity. (63) It will also follow that, if any king of Cashel paid such great attention to our Apostle, he was probably Natfraich himself. It is true, that this prince is never spoken of as a Christian; but he might have shown civility to the saint as a stranger of rank and respectability, and permitted him not only to preach the Gospel to his subjects but to instruct his own children. Young Aengus was, I dare say, one of those fortunate pupils, and, when placed on the throne, was highly instrumental in forwarding the cause of Christianity in Munster. The celebrated anecdote concerning the king's foot having been pierced by the point of St. Patrick's staff during the baptismal ceremony, and which he is said to have borne patiently, thinking it formed part of that ceremony, is more likely to have occurred in the case of a boy than in that of a man, and a king, who could scarcely be supposed to have fallen into such a mistake. This accident could not have happened in the very act of baptism, as the mode of baptizing then practised was by immersion, and in fact is stated to have occurred after it, when the king, as they call him, or rather young prince, while receiving the saint's benediction, stuck so close to him that one of

his feet got under the point of the staff. (64) St. Patrick is said to have converted several other persons of rank at Cashel, and after this prosperous commencement set out for other parts of Munster, and spent seven entire years in that province, preaching the Gospel, baptizing new converts, reviving the faith of those who were already Christians, (65) erecting churches, appointing clergymen, &c.

(59) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 29.

(60) Usher has (*Ind. Chron.*) A. D. 449, in consequence of his former calculations (above *Not.* 44.) But this date cannot be made to agree with what we are told of St. Patrick having remained in Munster for seven years, nor with his subsequent proceedings prior to the foundation of the see of Armagh in the year 445. Harris says, that St. Patrick had deferred his tour to Munster on account of the progress made already in the South by his precursors, referring to Ailbe, Declan, &c. We have already seen (*Chap.* I.), that these persons are not entitled to that distinction. Yet it cannot be doubted, that St. Patrick had some precursors in the South and South east parts of Ireland, as there were Christians in Ireland before the mission of Palladius; and, considering the greater proximity of these parts to the continent, besides their lying convenient for an intercourse with G. Britain, it may reasonably be supposed that they had already received no small share of the light of the Gospel.

(61) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 29. It adds that the court or palace was at the place where a stone, called *Patrick's stone*, afterwards lay. In the third Life (*cap.* 61.) it is said, that the stone was called *Leac Coithurgi*, *Leac*, stone, and *Coithurgi*, or *Cothrige*, one of the names of St. Patrick (above *Chap.* IV. §. VI.); and that the kings of Cashel used to be appointed on it; through veneration (adds Jocelin, *cap.* 74.) for the saint, who perhaps had celebrated the divine mysteries on it. This stone was to be seen on the ascent to the cathedral situated on the famous rock of Cashel. (See Seward at *Cashel.*) Usher's Tripartite (*Pr. p.* 865.) makes the king proceed to the plain of *Femyn* to meet the saint, and has been followed by Harris. If so, that plain must have been at the North side of Cashel, as it was from Ossory that St. Patrick went

straight to that city. But it appears from the Life of Declan, that the plain of Femyn was to the South of Cashel towards Clonmel; for in it we read, that St. Patrick, having left Cashel to proceed to the territory of the Desii, went to the plain of Femyn, where he was met by Declan, who had crossed the Suir from the county of Waterford side for the purpose of paying his respects to the saint. This anecdote of Declan's going to Femyn to meet St. Patrick has been confounded in Usher's Tripartite with the king's advancing to welcome him before he entered Cashel. Smith has given (Hist. of Waterford, *p.* 4.) too great an extent to *Maghfemyn*, or, the *plain of Femyn*. For he comprizes within it the whole barony of Middlethird, and consequently the city of Cashel, although in Declan's Life that city is spoken of as quite distinct from any part of the country of the *Desii*, in the northern district of which Magh-femyn lay; "*campi Femyn in aquilonari Desiorum plaga*—S. Patricius—*a regione Desiorum ad civitatem Cassel* reversus est." (See *Tr. Th. p.* 201.) Harris is still more astray in making it (*Bishops, p.* 20.) the flat extensive country, that *surrounds* Cashel. The present boundary between the diocese of Cashel and that of Lismore is the best rule to go by for finding out the northern limits of the territory of the Desii, which, in the ecclesiastical division, has been placed under Declan of Ardmore. This see became united to that of Lismore, and is now comprized under its name. These united dioceses extend northwards to about midway between Cashel and Clonmel, and there also ended the country of the Desii, in which lay Magh-femyn.

(62) Keating says (*B.* 2.) that Aengus reigned 36 years and was killed in the battle of Killosnadh (Co. Carlow). He does not mark the precise date of that battle; but it is assigned by the 4 Masters (*Tr. Th. p.* 565.) to A. D. 489 (490). Accordingly Aengus did not begin to reign until the year 454, a period certainly later than that of St. Patrick's arrival in Munster, even in Usher's hypothesis of affixing it to the year 449. He must have been very young when the saint came to Cashel; for, to omit other arguments, St. Naol of Kilmanagh, who died *A. D.* 564, is stated to have been a son of his. (*AA. SS.* at *Naol* or *Natalis* 27 January.)

(63) See *Not.* 12.

(64) In the Life (*cap.* 60.) we read; "Credidit ei et bap-

tizatus est. Cumque Patricius caput regis benedixisset cuspis baculi affixa est pedi regis. Sed rex, benedictionem valde desiderans, dolorem pedis pro nihilo reputavit." Jocelin also says (*cap.* 74.) that it happened after the baptism at the time of the saint's giving his blessing and touching the prince's head. He introduces, as usual, a miracle, telling us that the prince felt no pain from the wound, which is contradicted both in the passage now quoted from the third Life, and in the Tripartite, (*L.* 3. *c.* 30.) where it is added that, when the prince was asked by St. Patrick why he had not given some indication of the hurt and pain he had felt, he answered that he thought the piercing of his foot to be a part of the holy ceremony, and accordingly submitted to it.

(65) " Fidei propagandae et *refovendae*." Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 31. Hence it is clear, that there were Christians in Munster before St. Patrick's arrival there. (See *Not.* 60.)

§. VII. In none of our apostle's Lives is there a word to be found about any synod then held at Cashel, or a meeting there between St. Patrick, Ailbe, Declan, &c. and regulations made concerning the privileges of the sees of Cashel, Ardmore, Saigir, &c. This stuff occurs only in the Lives of Ailbe and others of those pretended precursors of St. Patrick, but having been given to the world by Usher, (66) has led astray several writers. It was patched up at a late period, and at a time when some bishops claimed a degree of preeminence and antiquity for their sees, to which they were not originally entitled. The whole story is thus related. Ailbe of Emly, Declan of Ardmore, Kieran of Saigir, and Ibar of Beg-erin were at first opposed to St. Patrick, and disinclined to acknowledge him as their superior, but in the end came to a good understanding with him. Kieran led the way in submitting to St. Patrick's jurisdiction. Next comes Ailbe, who on hearing that the saint was at Cashel went thither to pay his respects to him and the king. Being a very humble man, he received St. Patrick as his master, and it was decreed by the king and the saint, that the archbishopric of all Munster

should be attached to the city and chair of Ailbe. (67) Ibar was for a considerable time very stiff in refusing to submit to St. Patrick; but at length, being admonished by an Angel, entered into an agreement of peace and harmony with him. Declan did not wish to oppose the saint, but was unwilling to consider him as his superior. But he also was visited by an Angel and ordered to wait on St. Patrick and obey his commands. He immediately set out and, having met the saint at Hymneon in Maghfemyn, (68) humbled himself before him. St. Patrick received him with great kindness, and blessed his country and the whole nation of the Desii. On his returning to Cashel he was accompanied by Declan, and there it was decided that, in the same manner as Ailbe was placed over the people of Munster, Declan should rule the Desii, and, as Ailbe was to be a second Patrick and patron of Munster, so Declan likewise should be a second Patrick and patron of the Desii. (69) It is added that, while other parts of Ireland should be subject to St. Patrick, the Desii should be under Declan. (70) The three saints, Patrick, Ailbe, and Declan (71) having thus arranged the extent of their jurisdiction, and made many useful regulations, blessed the king, and taking leave of him set out for the respective districts, that were to be the scenes of their spiritual labours. But all this fine account of the opposition to our Apostle by those four prelates, of the synod of Cashel, &c. &c. falls to the ground; first, because, had such things occurred, they would not have been omitted in all the Lives of St. Patrick; and, secondly, because, as has been shown already, (72) not one of said persons was a bishop as early as has been pretended. Yet there may be some truth in what is said of an opposition to St. Patrick, not however as if any of those now spoken of, two of whom, Ailbe and Ibar, were even disciples of his, had been concerned in it, but because the saint himself seems to allude in his Confession

to a sort of murmuring against him, (73) originating, it would appear, in a spirit of rivalry and jealousy, which might have actuated some of the Christians who were in Ireland before his mission, but could not have got hold of any of his own converts or disciples.

(66) *Pr. p.* 801—866 *seqq.*

(67) " Sanctus Albaeus accepit beatum Patricium magistrum suum, quia erat Albaeus valde humilis. Tunc rex Aengus et Patricius ordinaverunt, ut in civitate et cathedra sancti Albaei semper esset *archiepiscopatus* omnium Mumoniensium." *Life of Ailbe, cap.* 20. This city and chair of Ailbe has been constantly understood by our old writers as that of Emly; but it is doubted whether it ought to be honoured with the title of an archiepiscopal see. Keating (*Book.* 2. *p.* 6.) asserts, that Emly was never an archbishopric, and that no see in Munster ever enjoyed that rank except Cashel. He pretends, that the opinion of Emly having had archbishops is founded on a mistake, owing to the archbishop and clergy of Cashel having been obliged during the Danish persecution, in the time of Turgesius (ninth century), to quit the city and take shelter in the fastnesses of Emly, where they remained for some time. The prelates of Emly are indeed usually styled merely *bishops*, although Harris (Bishops at *Emly*) reckons among them Maelbrigid *archbishop* of Munster, who died A. D. 895; and, what is of much greater weight I find, in the ancient Life of St. Pulcherius, one of them, that lived in the 6th or 7th century called *archbishop* of Emly. There seems to have been some sort of preeminence annexed to that see in consequence of its having been the first established in Munster; but it did not consist in that extensive jurisdiction, which archbishopries, properly so called, were possessed of. There was no truly archiepiscopal see in Ireland, except Armagh, until the beginning of the 12th century, when the primate Celsus raised Cashel to that rank, which, through the interference of his immediate successor St. Malachy, was confirmed by Pope Innocent II. St. Bernard's testimony is decisive on this point; " Erat et altera metropolitica sedes, quam *de novo* constituerat Celsus, primae tamen sedi et illius archiepiscopo subdita tamquam primati" (*Vit. S. Mal. cap.* 10.). And (*ib. cap.* 11.) " Petit

Malachias confirmari *novae metropolis* constitutionem—et confirmationis quidem privilegium mox accepit." This new metropolis was Cashel; and however we find, that Miler O'Dunan, who assisted at the synod of Usneagh, or Fiadh-mac-Aengusa (Westmeath) in the year 1112, over which Celsus presided, is called *Archbishop of Cashel.* (See *Jus. Primat. Armac.* §. VII.) In this same work the author, Dr. Macmahon, says (§. 62.) that Celsus *transferred* the archbishopric from Emly to Cashel; but this does not agree with the text of St. Bernard, who speaks of a quite *new* institution; and it is certain that, whatever *honorary* rank Emly might have enjoyed, its jurisdiction was never of that really metropolitical sort, which was conferred on Cashel. From what has been now observed it appears, that Keating was wrong in supposing, that there were *archbishops* of Cashel in the 9th century. It is very doubtful whether Cashel was even a *bishop's* see at that period. But of this elsewhere.

(68) See *Not.* 61.

(69) The people of Munster and the Desii seem to be spoken of as distinct from each other, although the country of the Desii is now comprised in Munster. In Declan's Life, where all these stories are to be found, an Irish distich, relative to the privileges of Ailbe and Declan, is given and said to be pronounced by St. Patrick on that occasion. It may be seen, together with some paraphrases of it, in Usher's *Pr. p.* 866. and Harris' *Bishops* at *Emly.*

(70) Et ut Hibernienses in *alii locis.* S. Patricius servirent, ita et Nandesi gens suo patrono. S. Declano omne exhiberent sub Deo obsequium. (*Life of Declan, c.* 30.) The drift of this passage was to insinuate, that Declan's see, that is, Ardmore, was exempt from the jurisdiction of Armagh.

(71) Harris adds Kieran and Ibar as having been at Cashel on that occasion, and says that the former was then placed at Saigir, and the latter at Beg-erin. Now in the first place they are never mentioned either in Declan's Life, the fountain-head of this fable, nor in the garbled accounts given of their acts, as having been members of that pretended synod. Kieran is said indeed in both his Lives (*AA. SS. 5 Mart.*) to have visited, on a certain occasion, Aengus at Cashel; but no allusion is made to a synod. We are also told that St. Patrick, Aengus, and many others paid a

visit to Kieran at Saigir. Harris confounded the narrative of his and Ibar's proceedings relatively to St. Patrick with what was said to have occurred at Cashel between him and Ailbe and Declan. And as to the appointments to Saigir and Beg-erin, Harris ought to have known, that in the stories concerning this matter Kieran and Ibar are exhibited as having been bishops in those places before St. Patrick's mission began in Ireland.

(72) *Chap.* I. §. x. *seqq.*

(73) In one place he writes (*Conf. p.* 17.); "Rideat autem et insultet qui voluerit, ego non silebo," &c. He dwells much on his having had no interested views in coming to Ireland, and that, far from looking to temporal advantages, he refused to accept of presents that used to be offered to him, and laid out his own property in procuring means for facilitating the progress of the Gospel, and protecting his converts. I allow that these and some other expressions of his may be understood relatively to calumnies of the Pagans; but certain passages occur, in which he seems to allude to the carpings of some Christians and probably members of the clerical order, as *ex. c.* where he says, that in the course of his mission he had, with great risk visited even the remotest parts of Ireland, where no missionary had ever been before. (*ib. p.* 19.)

§. VIII. The first district mentioned as visited by St. Patrick after his departure from Cashel was *Muscrighe Breogain*, (74) seemingly a part of the extensive flat country lying between Cashel and Limerick. The saint is said to have founded several churches in that district, and to have left some of his disciples at one of them, which is specified by the name *Kill-fheacla*. (75) Thence he went to the territory called *Ara-chliach* (in the now counties of Tipperary and Limerick), in a part of which, *Hy-Cuanach* (barony of Coonagh) he was at first violently opposed by the dynast Olild. But in consequence of a miracle, to obtain which St. Patrick had ordered Ailbe and Ibar (76) to offer up their prayers to God, Olild, his family, and his subjects are said to have been converted and baptized. While St. Patrick re-

mained in Ara-chliach, he foretold, if we are to believe the Tripartite, divers circumstances relative to future occurrences in that country, and among others, the foundation of a monastery at Kill-ratha and of a church at Kill-teidhill. (77) Next we find the saint in that tract, which lies to the East of Limerick, and we are told that he was there hospitably entertained by a chieftain named Lonan, (78) and that he met with young Nessan, whom after some time he placed over the monastery of Mungret, which he had founded. (79) Some inhabitants of Thomond or North Munster (Clare), having heard of St. Patrick being in those parts, crossed the Shannon for the purpose of seeing him and, when instructed in the Christian religion, were baptized in the field of *Tir-glais*. (80) He was also waited upon by prince Carthen son of Blod. (81) This prince likewise is said to have been converted and baptized at Saingeal near Limerick. (82) St. Patrick did not cross the Shannon on this occasion, but, according to the Tripartite, having ascended mount Fintine near Donaghmore, and looking over the country of Thomond blessed it and foretold the birth, after some years, of Senan of Inniscatty. (83) Afterwards the saint went to Luachra, beyond which he did not continue his course in any other part of West Munster. (84) While in that district, he is said to have prophecied, that the *great patriarch of monks and star of the western world would be born in West Munster, viz. St. Brendan of the race of Hua-Alta, and that his birth would be several years after his own death.* (85) Turning back from Luachra, he directs his course towards South Munster or Desmond ; (86) but his transactions in that country are passed over in a loose general manner, and nothing occurs, that might help us to form even a rational conjecture concerning his proceedings. He is said to have visited also the southern part of the country of the Desii (Waterford) and with the

assistance of the chieftain Fergar and the nobles, &c. to have, after great toils, arranged the ecclesiastical affairs of that territory. (87) When near the banks of the Suir, he was kindly received by the inhabitants, and, thence continuing his progress through the now county of Tipperary, proceeded to Muscrith-Thire (Lower Ormond), where, among many others, he converted, says the Tripartite, (88) two brothers, of a powerful family, Munech and Meachair, while their eldest brother Furech remained obstinate in his infidelity. Having now spent seven years in Munster he set out on his return to Leinster, and was followed by the chieftains and multitudes of people from all parts of that province, who wished to take their leave of him and receive his blessing, which from an eminence he cheerfully bestowed on them and on all Munster. (89)

(74) There were several tracts in Munster named *Muscrighe*, so called, says Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 186.) from a prince Muse, son of king Conor the great. O'Brien with much greater appearance of truth derives that name from *Mus*, pleasant, and *Crioch*, country. (*Ir. Dict.* at *Muiscrith.*) One of them was surnamed *Mitine*, and is the present Muskerry in the county of Cork. Another was denominated *Thire*, and was the same as Lower Ormond in Tipperary. Muiscrighe Breogain was, I am sure, that which O'Brien calls *Muscrith Jarthar Feimion*, the country about Emly and Tipperary. It was certainly different from *Muscrighe Thire*. Jocelin seems to have confounded them together; for he makes (*cap.* 75.) St. Patrick proceed from Cashel to Ormond. But the circumstances, which he mentions as having occurred there, did not take place, according to the Tripartite, until after the saint had traversed various other parts of Munster. Yet we must observe, that the ancient Ormond or *Urmuman* (*third Life, cap.* 61.) that is *East Munster*, was more extensive than the district, to which that name still adheres.

(75) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 32. I do not find any place, to which this name corresponds, except Kilfeacle, not far from the town of

Tipperary. Archdall has a *Kilfeacle* in Cork, and indeed, an abbey, which, however, he says is unknown. His reason for placing it there is, that it was in Muscragia or *Muscrighe*, as if there had been no other district so called than the present Muskerry. But *Muscrighe Breogain*, in which *Kill-fiachla*, or Killfeacle, was situated, must not be confounded with *Muscrighe Mitine*. (See *Not. prec.*) Archdall was led astray by Harris, (*Antiq. cap.* 7.) who makes these two Muscrighes adjacent to each other, and both comprized in what is now called Muskerry.

(76) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 33. Here they are called *bishops*; but that must be understood of their having been so, not at that time, which was probably A. D. 446, but at a later period. They were then in a state of scholarship, and belonged to that class of young gentlemen, whom the saint was wont to have in his suite as pupils. See *Not.* 12.) Ibar was, in all likelihood, older than Ailbe, having died long before him, *viz.* in the year 503. (*Chap.* I. §. XIII.) He was of an illustrious family of Ulster (Usher *p.* 1061.) (and probably had accompanied St. Patrick since his departure from that province for Meath and Leinster. He might have been old enough about the year 446 to be a bishop; but, had he been then one, we would rather imagine that St. Patrick would have assigned to him a district, in which he might exercise his functions, than keep him along with himself. As to Ailbe, he could not have been a bishop so early, whereas he lived until A. D. 527. (*Chap.* I. §. XI.) At the time that the saint took him under his care, which cannot be supposed to have been prior to his arrival in Munster, of which province Ailbe was a native, he must have been very young. I have already observed (*Chap.* I. *Not.* 84.) that, if it be true that Ailbe studied under a bishop Hilarius on the continent, the most probable conjecture is that he was Hilarius of Arles. Besides other circumstances there touched upon, the time answers very well; for Ailbe might have been sent about 446 to Hilarius, who lived until the year 449. Whoever that Hilarius was, he is expressly distinguished from the Pope of that time, both in Ailbe's and Declan's Lives, and consequently must not be confounded, as has been done by the Bollandists, with Pope Hilarius. The whole matter is involved in such obscurity, that it is useless to attempt an elucidation of it. Nor can it be ascertained, by whom Ailbe was consecrated; although

there can be scarcely a doubt of his having been a bishop before the year 492, in which king Aengus was killed.

(77) Archdall has these places in the county of Limerick. Killteidhill was, I dare say, the same as Kilteel in the barony of Coonagh; although he has made them two distinct places. As to Killrath, it would be difficult to find it out at present. Archdall has no right to call Coeman, its founder, a disciple of St. Patrick. The Tripartite does not mention him as such.

(78) Jocelin (*cap.* 75.) and the third Life (*cap.* 61.) place these transactions in Ormond; the Tripartite in Hyfigente, a tract of country extending along the Shannon towards Kerry. Hence we see that the ancient Ormond was more extensive than the modern. (See *Not.* 74.) Concerning the entertainment prepared by Lonan see *Chap.* IV. *Not.* 53.

(79) Here we have another of the Tripartite's anachronisms. Nessan, who is well known in our ecclesiastical history, and has been often called Deacon Nessan, belonged to the second order of Irish saints, which flourished after St. Patrick's time. (Usher *Pr. p.* 914.) He died A. D. 532. (*Tr. Th. p.* 186.) How then could he have been placed over Mungret by St. Patrick, or how could St. Patrick have founded that monastery for him, unless we were to suppose that he lived about 140 years? Archdall ought not to have said (at *Mungret*) that the fact is *indubitable*. O'Halloran's nonsense about the monastery of Mungret having existed in the fourth century, and referred to by Archdall, is not worth consideration. Almost equally ridiculous is the assertion of Ferrar, (*History of Limerick, p.* 4.) that it was founded by St. Patrick in the year 433.

(80) *Tir-glais*, the *land of greenness*, the same, perhaps, as Tirdaglass in Lower Ormond; *da*, of. If so, St. Patrick had moved some miles up the left bank of the Shannon.

(81) This Carthen was the chieftain of N. Munster. Colgan in a note to Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 44. has, as if from the *MS.* text; "Carthennus Blodii filius *Theodoricianae familiae progenitor.*" The three last words have been omited through mistake in the printed copy of the Tripartite. This family was, as Colgan remarks, that of the O'Briens of Thomond. In Keating's pedigrees he is placed, under the name of *Carthan Fionn*, at the head of that illustrious line. He was called also Carthan *more* or the *great*. (See Vallancey's *Collectanea, Law of Tanistry*, &c. *Vol.* 1. *p.* 439.)

(82) See Vallancey, *loc. cit.*

(83) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 46. This alone is sufficient to show the falsehood of certain stories about the high antiquity of Senan, some of which Archdall has at *Inniscattery*. Of Senan more elsewhere. What mountain Fintine was I cannot determine. There is a Donaghmore very near Limerick.

(84) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 47. More than one district was named or surnamed *Luachra*, which means *rushes*. O'Brien (*Ir. Dict.* at *Muscrith*) has Muscrith Luachra, the land, he says, lying between Kilmallock, Kilfinan, and Ardpatrick. But from what follows in the Tripartite it is plain, that the *Luachra*, to which it alludes, lay more to the West. It was not far from the borders of Kerry, and, I think, in the now barony of Connillo, (Co. Limerick) in which is a mountain anciently called the mountain of Luachra, near which was St. Ita's monastery (*Ita's Life, Jan.* 15.). This *Luachra* might have been a continuation of the tract mentioned by O'Brien, and which, on account of its being a pleasant country, was distinguished by the epithet *Muscrith*.

(85) This passage is well worth consideration. 1. It shows that the celebrated Brendan of Clonfert, the Brendan here spoken of, was a native not of that place, nor of any part of Connaught, as some have thought, but of Kerry, as Ware states (*Bishops* at *Ardfert*) after many old writers. 2. That the Luachra, where this prophecy is said to have been delivered, was in the neighbourhood of Kerry, whereas said prophecy was here introduced in consequence of the mention made of Luachra. 3. That St. Patrick did not live until A. D. 484, this being the year in which Brendan was born. (Usher *Ind. Chron.* and Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 187.) As to the number of years, that were to intervene between the death of St. Patrick and the birth of Brendan, there is a palpable error both in the Tripartite, (*L.* 3. *c.* 47.) and in the parallel passages of the 4th Life (*cap.* 79.) where it is said, that Brendan would be born in the 120th year after St. Patrick would leave this world. The true reading was, I believe, the 20th year. By prefixing *C* to XX. the change was easy from 20 to 120. Now St. Patrick died, as will be seen, A. D. 465. Brendan's birth in 484 was consequently in the 20th year after that date.

(86) Harris has committed a huge blunder, (*Antiq. cap.* 7.) where he says that Desmond is *West* Munster, and now Kerry.

But the very name, *Desmond*, means *South* Munster. Kerry, or, at least, the greatest part of it, was not included in the ancient Desmond, as it belonged to *Iar-Muin* or West Munster. Some parts of the East of modern Kerry might have been comprized in Desmond, as adjoining the county of Cork, which was the real Desmond. How could it be said, that St. Patrick had turned back from Luachra, adjoining Kerry, to go to Desmond, if Kerry, generally speaking, was the same territory?

(87) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 49. Not a word about Declan.
(88) *L.* 3. *c.* 51. (89) *Ib. c.* 54.

§. IX. Following the dates hitherto laid down, we may suppose that St. Patrick's departure from Munster took place in the year 452. Secundinus, whom he had left to superintend the churches of Meath and the northern parts, (90) was already dead, having departed this life in the year 448, and 75th of his age. (91) He was a very wise and holy prelate, and the first bishop that died in Ireland. (92) An anecdote is related of him, which shows what little reliance is to be placed on the stories relative to grants of lands made to St. Patrick. It is said, that he expressed a disapprobation of the saint's excessive disinterestedness in refusing presents from the wealthy and donations of lands, which, did he accept of them, would enable him to support a multitude of holy persons. But on St. Patrick's explaining to him the reasons of his conduct, he became sorry for what he had said, and begged for forgiveness. (93) It was, according to some accounts, (94) on the occasion of his having been pardoned by the saint, that he set about composing his poem or alphabetical hymn in honour of St. Patrick, in which the saint is spoken of as still alive, and which I find no reason for not considering as a genuine work of Secundinus. (95)

It is very probable that the horrid transaction, which compelled St. Patrick to write his letter against Coroticus, occurred before his departure from Munster, and in some maritime and South-east part of

that province, as that tract lay very convenient for an expedition against the Irish coast from either South Wales or Cornwall, in one or other of which Coroticus' principality was in all likelihood situated. (96) Colgan assigns the martyrdom of Fingar, and his companions, (97) the history of which was perhaps built on the affair of Coroticus, to about the year 450; (98) and, if he be right, it must have taken place while St. Patrick was in Munster. We may therefore be allowed to touch on those transactions in this place, particularly as, excepting the Munster coast, we do not meet with St. Patrick, during the latter years of his mission, preaching in any maritime part of Ireland southward of Louth.

(90) See §. IV.

(91) Usher *Pr. p.* 825 and *Ind. Chron.* The Bollandists, *proprio motu* place his death A. D. 459. But the authority of the Ulster and Innisfallen annals, joined with that of the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 19.) and the concurrent testimonies of Colgan himself (*ib.*) Usher (*loc. cit.*) and Ware (*Op. S. P. p.* 151.) is much better on this point than that of the Bollandists. The fable about Secundinus having been a nephew of St. Patrick is, without resorting to other arguments, sufficiently refuted by the circumstance that, when Secundinus was in his 75th year, the saint had not passed his 61st year. (See *Chap.* IV. §. IV.)

(92) Life of Declan (See Usher *p.* 826. Tripartite *L.* 3. *c.* 89. and Jocelin, *cap.* 177.). What then has become of Ledwich's *abundance* of bishops, that were in Ireland before the time of Palladius? (See above *Chap.* 1. *Not.* 129.)

(93) Jocelin, *cap.* 176. Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 88. Compare with *Chap.* V. §. II.

(94) This is the occasion or cause assigned for the composition of the hymn by the anonymous author of the preface to it. (*ap.* Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 211.) The Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 89.) mentions its composition without referring it to that occasion.

(95) This poem or hymn has been published by Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 211, and republished by Ware, (*Opuscul. S. Patric. &c. p.* 146, *seqq.*) who calls it an Alphabetical hymn, inasmuch as the

strophes, consisting each of four lines, begin with the letters of the alphabet, following the order of them, A, B, C, &c. This order is plain in Ware's edition, which at strophe 10 has *Kastam*, where Colgan writes *Castam*, and at strophe 21 *XPS* for *Christus* as *ap.* Colgan. There are several various readings between these two editions. But they are of little or no consequence. The first Strophe is,

> " *Audite omnes amantes Deum sancta merita*
> *Viri in Christo beati, Patricii episcopi;*
> *Quomodo bonum ob actum similatur Angelis,*
> Perfectamque propter vitam aequatur Apostolis."

And the last, " *Zona Domini praecinctus diebus ac noctibus*
Sine intermissione Deum orat Dominum;
Cujus ingentis laboris percepturus praemium (praemia, Colgan)
Cum Apostolis regenabit sanctis super Israel."

In the last line, instead of *sanctis*, Colgan's edition has *sanctus*. It has also an addition composed later than the hymn, and apparently after St. Patrick's death, concluding with these words; " Patricius sanctus episcopus oret pro nobis omnibus, ut deleantur protinus peccata, quae commisimus. Amen." This hymn is also in the very ancient Antiphonarium Benchorense, which has been published by Muratori. (See *Chap.* II. §. VI.) In this edition there are some readings different from those both of Colgan's and Ware's editions; but in general it agrees somewhat more with the latter than with the former. It has, like Colgan's, an addition in the following words; " *Patricius episcopus oret pro nobis omnibus —Ut deleantur protinus peccata, quae commisimus—Patricii laudes semper dicamus—Ut nos cum illo semper vivamus.*" On the whole, the hymn is well worthy of illustration, as it contains excellent allusions to the most sound doctrine and discipline; and it would be desirable, that we had a completely correct copy of it.

(96) Coroticus is constantly spoken of as a king of the Britons. Jocelin, who calls him *Cereticus*, says (*cap.* 150) that he reigned in a part of Wales. The Bollandists threw out a conjecture, that the name signified *king of Ceretica* (Cardiganshire). But there is nothing to show, that it was not really a proper name, and in fact a very common one among the Britons. It was originally the same as that of the great *Caractacus* or *Caratacus*. A wicked British king, *Careticus*, is mentioned as living in the sixth century, *Randolph.*

Polychron. ap. Gale, *Scriptores* xv. *p.* 225. *Cereticus*, another British king, about *A. D.* 620, is spoken of by Camden. (*Britannia, col.* 862.) We find in Bede (*L.* 4. *cap.* 23.) a *Cerdic*, likewise a British prince, towards the latter end of the seventh century. The name is undoubtedly the same, being no other than *Caraduc* as it is written in the Welsh, or, the *Caradeuc* of the Bretons. As therefore the name *Corotic, Caretic, Ceretic, Cerdic*, was so usual among the Britons not only in Ceretica, but wherever there were Britons, the conjecture of the Bollandists cannot lead to any decision as to the country of the tyrant alluded to by St. Patrick. If the martyrdom of Fingar, &c. formed part of the persecution by Coroticus, there would be reason to think, as will be seen below, that he reigned in Cornwall.

(97) See above *Chap.* v. §. v.

(98) *AA. SS. Ind. Chron.* and at *St. Hia*, 25 *Jan.*

§. x. This prince Coroticus, though apparently a Christian, (99) was a tyrant, a pirate, and a persecutor. He landed with a party of his armed followers (100) many of whom were Christians, at a season of solemn baptism, (101) and set about plundering a district (undoubtedly maritime), in which St. Patrick had just baptized and confirmed a great number of converts, and on the very day after the holy chrism was seen shining in the foreheads of the white-robed neophytes. (102) Having murdered several persons, these marauders carried off a considerable number of people, whom they went about selling or giving up as slaves to the Scots and the apostate Picts. (103) St. Patrick wrote a letter, not extant, which he sent by a holy priest whom he had instructed from his younger days, (104) to those pirates, requesting of them to restore the baptized captives and some part of the booty. The priest and the other ecclesiastics, that accompanied him, being received by them with scorn and mockery, and the letter not attended to, the saint found himself under the necessity of issuing a circular epistle or declaration against them and their chief Coroticus, in which

announcing himself a bishop and established in Ireland, he proclaims to all those, who fear God, that said murderers and robbers are excommunicated and estranged from Christ, and that it is not lawful to show them civility, nor to eat or drink with them, nor to receive their offerings, until sincerely repenting they make atonement to God and liberate his servants and the handmaids of Christ. He begs of the faithful, into whose hands the epistle may come, to get it read before the people every where, and before Coroticus himself, and to communicate it to his soldiers, in the hope that they and their master may return to God, &c. Among other very affecting expostulations he observes, that the Roman and Gallic Christians are wont to send proper persons with great sums of money to the Franks and other Pagans for the purpose of redeeming Christian captives, (105) while, on the contrary that monster Coroticus made a trade of selling the members of Christ to nations ignorant of God. What was the fruit of St. Patrick's exertions on this occasion is not known. The account of the martyrdom of Fingar and his companions was probably built upon a traditionary and exaggerated statement of the persecution of Coroticus. (106) It is thus given. Fingar, *alias* Guigner, the son of an Irish king, having embraced the Christian faith, (107) fled, to avoid the consequences of his father's wrath, together with several young nobles, to Britany, where he was kindly received by the chief of the province, and having got ample possessions from him erected an oratory. Afterwards he retured to Ireland, and there collected nearly 800 faithful, among whom were seven bishops and his sister Piala. Leaving Ireland they arrived at a port called *Heul* in *Cornubia*, where they met Hia, an Irish virgin, who had set out after them. While preparing to continue their tour towards Fingar's retreat they were attacked by Theodoric king of the country, who put them all to death. That country,

or, as it is denominated *Cornubia*, was in all likelihood Cornwall. (108) What affinity there may be between this garbled story and the affair of Coroticus, I leave to the reader to decide for himself. (109)

(99) Tillemont (*Mem. Tom.* XVI. *p.* 462.) calls him a Christian; and, I think, with reason, because the sentence of excommunication pronounced by St. Patrick in the Epistle seems to include Coroticus together with his associates. On that account he gave directions that the Epistle should be read in the presence not only of his subjects but also of Coroticus himself. Had he not been a Christian, he could not have been excommunicated. What the saint expresses concerning his wish that those robbers and murderers, of whom Coroticus was the chief, may return to God, plainly alludes to the profession of Christianity; "Quod si Deus inspirat illos, ut quandoque *Deo resipiscant*, et vel sero poeniteant," &c. It is true that in some of St. Patrick's Lives he is spoken of as not a Christian. We read in the third Life (*cap.* 72); "Nunciata sunt S. Patricio mala opera cujusdam regis Britonum Coritic crudelis et immitis tyranni, ut *converteret eum ad viam veritatis*. Hic Coritic namque erat persecutor et interfector Christianorum, misitque Patricius ad eum epistolam; sed rex ille deridebat *doctrinam* Patricii." Probus, who calls him *Chairtic*, agrees (*L.* 2. *c.* 27.) with what is here quoted except that, instead of *doctrinam Patricii*, he has *salutaria ejus monita*. Jocelin speaks of him (*cap.* 150.) in terms of the greatest horror, although he does not represent him as an infidel. In these Lives, as likewise in the Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 100.) where he is called *Corthec*, there is a ridiculous fable of his having been, in punishment of his crimes, changed into a fox and having suddenly disappeared so as never to be seen again. But the Epistle itself is the best, and indeed the only good authority with regard to what concerns Coroticus.

(100) Tillemont (*loc. cit.*) makes Coroticus in person one of the party. It is, however, difficult to determine, from the Epistle, whether he was so, or had only ordered his soldiers on that wicked expedition. The text is so obscure and in many parts so corrupt, that minor questions of this kind cannot be easily de-

cided. At any rate whatever occurred was perpetrated in consequence of his orders, " a latrunculis *jubente* Corotico;" and accordingly, whether present or not, he was equally guilty.

(101) I find nothing, that may lead to ascertain which of these solemn times it was, whether Easter, Whitsuntide, or the Epiphany; for, on this last festival also baptism used to be administered solemnly in Ireland.

(102) " De sanguine innocentium Christianorum, quos ego innumeros Deo *genui*, atque in Christo *confirmari*, postera die qua *chrisma* neophyti in *veste candida* flagrabat in fronte ipsorum." Here we have in a few words an exact description of the ancient discipline, according to which the sacrament of confirmation or chrism used to be administered immediately after baptism by the bishop, in case he were the baptizer or present on the occasion. We see also the white garment of the newly baptized. Without quoting longer passages of authors on this subject, one very like St. Patrick's words occurs in Amphilochius' Life of St. Basil, *cap.* 5. " Baptizavit Maximinus episcopus Basilium et Eubulum, et vestivit *albis*, atque ungens eos *sancto chrismate*," &c. This practice continued some hundreds of years, even with regard to infants. Alcuin treating of infant baptism writes (*De Offic. cap. de Sabbato Paschae*); " Postea vestiatur infans—Sivero episcopus adest *statim confirmari* cum oportet *chrismate*."

(103) By Scots he meant those of that nation who still remained pagans, and of whom, generally speaking, a smaller number in proportion was converted than of the other inhabitants (See *Not.* 12.). He gives the epithet of *apostates* to the Picts, meaning the Southern Picts, who had embraced the Christian faith on the preaching of Ninian, (see *Not.* 149 to *Chap.* I.) and many of whom, it seems, afterwards apostatized. The Northern Picts could not have been called *apostates* in St. Patrick's time, as they were first converted by Columb-kill in the sixth century. To the epithet, *apostates*, the saint adds, *indignissimorum, pessimorum—Pictorum*. But how could Coroticus and his pirates have sold their Irish captives to the Southern Picts, whose country was in the North-east of Scotland? It is hard to suppose, that they would have marched them thither by land; and as to conveying them by sea it would have been necessary to sail round about England or about the north of Scotland. The fact is, that the Picts so condemned by St. Pa-

trick were those who, together with the roving Scots, had, about that very time, (A. D. 450) advanced into the heart of Great Britain, and to oppose whom Vortigern invited the Anglo-Saxons. (See Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 450). And hence it appears that the Scots, who bought the Irish captives, were then in Great Britain on a plundering expedition. Coroticus and his followers carried on a trade of making slaves, and bringing them to Great Britain there to dispose of them, perhaps in lieu of their own countrymen, to the Scots and Picts. What we have now observed will throw light upon the period, at which Coroticus' persecution took place; for after about the year 450, and the defeat of the Scots and Picts by the Saxons (Bede, *L.* 1. *c.* 15.) near Stamford, those invaders were soon obliged to relinquish their conquests and return to their own country; (Warrington, *History of Wales, p.* 45.) nor do we find the Scots and Picts again united against the Britons, whereas not long after the Picts became allied to the Saxons. (Bede *ib.*) It proves also the genuineness and antiquity of the Epistle; for no other than a contemporary could have written with an exactness so conformable to the state of those times.

(104) "Et misi epistolam cum sancto presbytero, quem ego ex *infantia* docui, cum clericis," &c. The word *infantia* must not be understood of what we usually call *infancy*, as it has been by Tillemont (*Mem. Tom.* XVI. *p.* 462 and 781), who accordingly found himself perplexed in some chronological points relative to St. Patrick, but of that age at which boys used to be dedicated to the clerical state. Thus we find the *infantes paraphonistae*, choir boys, *infantes monasterii*, the novices in monastic houses. In the statutes of the Benedictine order we read, that the *infantes* were bound to hear the rule expounded every day; which shows that they were supposed to have arrived at a certain age of discretion. (See Ducange at *Infantes.*) We are not therefore to conclude from the expression made use of by St Patrick, that the affair of Coroticus occurred about 30 years, as Tillemont seemed to think, after his arrival in Ireland. The priest spoken of might have been 14, nay 16 years old, when the saint began to instruct him, and yet be called an *infans*. Supposing that he joined St. Patrick in the year 433, he might be entitled, about 450, to the appellation of a *holy priest*. It is not improbable that Benignus was the

person. Were it necessary, we could recur to another explanation by supposing, that said priest was one of those persons, who had accompanied our apostle to Ireland, and that he had been under his care when in the continent. The *clerici*, however, or younger ecclesiastics, whom St. Patrick sent along with the priest, were undoubtedly natives of Ireland.

(105) See above *Chap.* II. §. 2.

(106) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 34.) was inclined to be of this opinion, and has been followed by the Bollandists.

(107) See *Chap.* V. §. 5.

(108) Albert le Grande maintains (*De Sanctis Britan. Armor.*) that the Cornubia spoken of in Fingar's Acts was Cornouaille in Britany, and informs us, that Fingar's festival is celebrated at Vannes on the 13th of December. I find in Lobineau (*Hist. de Bretagne, Tom.* I. *p.* 13.) a Theodoric son of Budic and Count of Cornouaille. But he lived late in the sixth century; and there appears no reason for considering him as a persecutor and tyrant, unless it should be said that his having put to death Maclau the usurper of his principality was an act of cruelty. Colgan holds that *Cornubia* was Cornwall, and adduces a very strong argument from the mention made of St. Ilia and the port *Heul*. For, as Camden states (*Britan. col.* 22.) the town of St. Ives in Cornwall has got its name from Ia an Irish woman of great piety, who lived there. The river, that flows into the harbour of St. Ives, is called *Haile*, seemingly the same name as *Heul*, and by which not only the river but the harbour also was probably called, before Ia or Hia settled there. Camden does not indeed call Ia a martyr; but we are not bound to vouch for the accuracy of the acts of Fingar and his companions.

(109) The chief difficulty, that Colgan finds (*Tr. Th. p.* 34.) against supposing that the account of Fingar, &c. was built on the history of Coroticus is, that the tyrant is called *Theodoric*. He says that this might have been owing to a mistake of a copyist. The name, *Theodoric*, was not unknown among the Britons. A Teudric, or Theodoric, was king of Glamorgan about the latter end of the sixth century, (Usher, *p.* 562.) But there are more serious difficulties in the way of that hypothesis, and which Colgan was not aware of, as he had not read the Epistle against Coroticus, and knew nothing about that tyrant except of his cruelty in general.

It would, however, be a useless task to endeavour to unravel that heap of fables called the *Acts of Fingar*. Who knows but they originated in some transactions, that occurred during the civil wars of Wales, Cornwall, or Britany? *(See Not. prec.)*

§. XI. To return to our apostle's progress through Ireland, it is related that, having left Munster, he arrived at Brosna (110) (King's county), and was there entertained by bishop Trian a foreigner, who lived at a place called *Craibhech*. (111) Thence he went to Hy-failge, (112) where a chieftain of the name of Failge, an obstinate pagan, formed a plan for killing St. Patrick. His determination coming to the knowledge of Odran the saint's charioteer, this faithful servant, without communicating the matter to the saint, requested permission to sit for a while in the easy part of the curricle, feigning himself greatly fatigued. The saint complying with his wish condescended to act in the mean time as driver. As they were going along, Failge advanced and, mistaking Odran for St. Patrick, transfixed him with a lance. It is added, that Failge was soon after struck dead by the Almighty. (113) Although we are not bound to receive as authentic some of the circumstances mentioned relatively to Odran's martyrdom, yet there is no reason for denying that he really lost his life for the faith of Christ. (114) Subsequent to this event we find no regular account of St. Patrick's proceedings until we meet with him again in Ulster, and in that part of it, which was the scene of his earliest exertions in Ireland, *viz.* Magh-inish, or, as now called, Lecale. (115) In this country was his favourite retreat, Sabhall, and it is very natural to think, that after his great labours in the southern parts of Ireland he had need of some repose. While in that district he met with Maccaldus, (116) a man of a most profligate life and captain of a band of robbers, who annoyed the whole country with their continual plunderings and murders. This desperado, on seeing St. Patrick walking along a road, entertained a design of

killing him, and said to his comrades; "Behold that impostor, who leads the people astray; let us try whether his god be powerful or not." Then one of them, whose name was Garvan, pretending to be sick, lay down under a cloak, and, when the saint came near them, the others said to him; "One of our party has been taken ill, pray sing over him some of your incantations, that so he may be restored to health." The saint answered, that it would not be surprising were he sick; when, on looking at him, his companions found him dead. They were so struck by this prodigy, that they cried out; "this is truly a man of God." Maccaldus was converted, and afterwards baptized. (117) Wishing to know what penance he should undergo for his crimes, St. Patrick ordered him to quit Ireland without taking any thing with him except a coarse garment, and, entrusting himself to a leathern boat, to land in the first place the wind would bring him to, and there serve God. He obeyed, and was wafted by the wind to the Isle of Man, where he was most kindly received by two holy bishops, Conindrus and Romulus, (118), who directed him in his penitential works, and with so much spiritual advantage that he succeeded them as bishop of the island and became renowned for his sanctity. (119)

(110) Jocelin (*cap.* 77.) and the third Life (*cap.* 63) have the *river Brosnach.* There is a river of that name which, flowing through the King's county, falls into the Shannon near Banagher. This river is many miles distant from the town *Brosna*, which Seward places in the barony of Clonlisk. The Tripartite does not mention a river, but seems to allude to a town or small district of that name, "*loca* quae *Brosnachea* appellantur". (Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 54.) Whether it were the town or the river, that St. Patrick arrived at, is of little consequence.

(111) Colgan in both his Topographical indexes places Craibhech in Munster, that is, in East Munster, as he observes at Trian's Acts (*AA. SS. p* 725) The reader must recollect that as part of the King's county was formerly comprized in Munster,

Colgan followed the old division of the provinces. Archdall has most unaccountably placed Croibhech or *Croebheach* in Kerry, and he adds, near the river *Brosnach*, as if said river were in Kerry. Then he mentions Trian as having been there. And, what is truly strange, he quotes Colgan for his purpose, notwithstanding his repeated statement that said place was in E. Munster or Ormond. He has also made out a monastery there, and why? Because a Daluan of Croebheach is spoken of as a disciple of St. Patrick (Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 12.) Hence Colgan, who wished to multiply the churches founded by St. Patrick, made (*Tr. Th. p.* 271.) him erect one for Daluan, although the Tripartite is silent on that subject; and Archdall, who was equally anxious to swell up his Monasticon, transformed that church into an abbey of St. Patrick's foundation. As to Trian, I find no mention of him except in the passages of St. Patrick's Lives already referred to, and which alone constitute what Colgan calls his Acts (23 *Mart.*). Perhaps he was the same as St. Trena of Killelga (Meath) who flourished early in the sixth century, and whom Colgan has at, 22 *Mart.*

(112) This district comprized, besides other tracts, a great part of the King's county.

(113) The history of Odran's martyrdom is thus given, with more or less circumstances, in the Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 56.), the fourth Life (*cap.* 57.), and Jocelin (*cap.* 73.). The third Life (*cap.* 59.) makes no mention of the pious contrivance of Odran, but merely represents him as having been killed by Failge, or, as it calls him, *Foilge*, in the presence of St. Patrick. Only one Failge is spoken of in all those Lives, except the Tripartite which introduces two chieftans of that name in Hy-failge, one surnamed *Berraide*, whom it makes the murderer, and the other *Ros*, who is exhibited as a worthy good man, and deserving of the benediction conferred by the saint on himself and his posterity. It is plain that this second Failge was brought on the stage in compliment to some illustrious families of the Hy-falgian line, and to wipe off the shame of their being descended from a bigoted tyrant. The third Life makes the wicked Foilge the progenitor of the other Foilgi; it has (*loc. cit.*) "Invenit autem (Patricius) virum pessimum nomine *Foilge*, a quo orti sunt alii *Foilgi*; qui aurigam Patricii jugulavit coram eo in curru suo,"

(114) The name of Odran, as a martyr, occurs in some martyrologies. Colgan has his Acts (19 *February*) which are merely extracts from the Lives of St. Patrick referred to in the preceding note. He observes, that Odran is the only martyr on record, that suffered in Ireland by the hands of an Irishman. In his Chronological Index (*ad AA. SS.*) he affixes his martyrdom to A. D. 451, which comes near to the date above assigned for St. Patrick's departure from Munster, *viz*, A. D. 452. Colgan did not follow Usher as to the time, at which the saint entered Munster, and which he supposed to be the year 419. In Usher's hypothesis St. Patrick would not have left that province until A. D. 456; nor could Odran's death be placed earlier. From Odran the place called *Desert-Odran* in Hy-falgia got its name (Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 98). Colgan could give no account of its situation; but Archdall has boldly placed it in the Queen's county, as if all Hy-falgia were comprized in that district. Some writers have marked the festival or commemoration of Odran at the 27th of October; but this was the day fixed for another Odran, who died in Hy, many years later. (See *AA. SS. p.* 372.)

(115) See Chap. v. §. III.

(116) Probus (*L.* 2. *c.* 9.) calls him Mac-fail. In the third Life (*cap.* 63.) he is called *Maguil*. Jocelin (*cap.* 151.) has "Magiul, qui et *Machaldus*." In the fourth Life (*cap.* 81.) he appears under the nickname of *Cyclops*.

(117) The Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 60.) and Jocelin (*loc. cit.*) add, that all these robbers were converted. They tell us also, in which they are joined by the other Lives, that St. Patrick at their request restored Garvan to life.

(118) Probus says (*L.* 2. *c.* 11.) that Coindrus and Romulus were the first preachers of the Gospel in Evania, or Man; "Qui *primi* docuerunt verbum Dei et baptismum in *Evania*, et pereos conversi sunt homines insulae ad Catholicam fidem." They are named in like manner in the fourth Life, (*cap.* 81.) but are not expressly stated to have been the first apostles of the island. In the Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 61.) they are called *Conderius et Romailus*. Were we to believe Jocelin, (*cap.* 92.) St. Patrick himself was the apostle of Man; for he pretends that the saint on returning from an excursion to G. Britain undertook the conversion of the inhabitants of the smaller islands, particularly *Eubonia*, id est,

Mannia. But we have already seen (*Chap.* IV. §. XIV.) that St. Patrick did not make any such excursions. The Chronicle of Man, quoted by Usher (*p.* 642.), mentions as an opinion, that St. Patrick was the first that preached there the Catholic faith; "*primus* fidem catholicam praedicasse *fertur* Mannensibus." (See *Chronicon Manniae,* in Johnstone's *Antiquit. Celta Norman. p.* 43.) This opinion was perhaps founded on Jocelin's book. The other Lives are quite silent on the subject, and give us no hint as to the propagation of Christianity in Man except on the occasion of Maccaldus, where they mention Conindrus and Romulus. The authority of Probus is certainly far superior to Jocelin's and to the *fertur* of the Chronicle. The Tripartite, indeed, throws out a hint, that the mission of St. Patrick had some influence on the progress of the Gospel in that island; for it exhibits (*loc. cit.*) Man as having become famous, *after the arrival of St. Patrick,* by serving as a retreat for monks, &c. "Venit autem (Maccaldus) in Manniam sive Euboniam, olim Druidum et gentilium vatum, postea, *ab adventu sancti Patricii,* Christi mysterum et monachorum secessu et sede nobilem claramque insulam." As Man was an Irish island, or, at least, inhabited by Irish people (Usher *loc. cit.* see also Nennius, *Hist. Brit. cap.* 8.) and not, as Jocelin pretends (*loc. cit.*) *then subject to Britain,* we can easily understand how pious persons fond of a sequestered life used to resort thither from Ireland. The same Tripartite immediately adds, that the bishops Conderius and Romailus were the persons who *disseminated and propagated* the faith and doctrine of Christ in that island. Had St. Patrick preached there himself, the Tripartite would not have omitted to mention it. Would it be allowable to conclude from a collation of these passages, that those two bishops had been appointed by St. Patrick? Jocelin says (*cap.* 152.) that they were, and that the saint placed them over the island after the death of its first bishop Germanus. This Germanus is not spoken of in any of St. Patrick's Lives except Jocelin's; nor is he mentioned in the Chronicle of Man. He was a fictitious person, introduced in consequence of the Cathedral of Man (see Camden, *col.* 1447, and Wood's Account of the Isle of Man, *chap.* 7.) having been dedicated to a St. German, who was no other than the great German of Auxerre, and who was highly revered by the ancient Irish. Usher had seen into the mistake of sending one

Germanus from Rome along with St. Patrick, (see above *chap.* IV. *not.* 142.) but was so led astray by Jocelin that he admitted a Germanus disciple of St. Patrick and placed by him as bishop in Man. (*Pr. p.* 643—842.) And then, still following Jocelin, he makes St. Patrick give him as successors Conindrus and Romulus, whose accession he affixes to A. D. 474. (*Ind. Chron.*) Now not only St. Patrick was dead at that time, but according to the Tripartite, &c. those two bishops were in Man before the foundation of the see of Armagh, and therefore prior to A. D. 455. On the whole we may conclude, that there is no sufficient foundation for St. Patrick's having preached in Man; that its first bishop was not the pretended Germanus; and that, although it is not improbable that Conindrus and Romulus had received their appointment from our saint, we have no decisive testimony on that subject.

(119) Probus (*L.* 2. *c.* 11.) thus concludes his account of Maccaldus, or, as he calls him, *Macfail*; "Igitur Macfail, ubi susceptus est ab eis, ad regulam eorum corpus et animum suum exercitavit, et totum vitæ tempus apud istos duos sanctos episcopos exegit, usquedum successor eorum in eodem episcopatu, Deo cooperante, fieri, promeruit. *Hic est Macfail episcopus clarus et sanctus postmodum effectus in Evonicasium civitate, cujus nos adjuvent sancta suffragia.*" Usher, having quoted (*p.* 1031.) the former part of this passage, omitted the latter here marked in Italics. He did not relish the invocation of saints. The Tripartite (*L.* 3 *c.* 61.) has, as a quotation from an older work; "Hic enim Maccaldus est episcopus et antistes clarus *Ard-ebnanensis, cujus nos suffragia adjuvent sancta.*" *Ard-ebnanensis* from *Ard-ebnana* the *hill of Evania* or Man. The Irish called the island *Eumhonia, i. e.* Eubonia, as Gildas and others have it. They called it also, *Eumhania*, or Euvania, whence came Evania. (Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 187.) Prefixing the letter M, indicating fondness, the name became *Mevania*, as we find it in Orosius (See Colgan *AA. SS. p.* 60.) Camden had no right to change *Mevania* into *Menania* (*Britan. col.* 1439.) From *Mevania* came *Mannia*, now *Man*. According to the Ulster Annals Maccaldus died A. D. 488. (489.)

§. XII. Passing over some stories and anachronisms relative to St. Patrick's further proceedings in the Northern parts, I shall merely remark that he is said to have intended to erect a church in some part of the tract, now called the county of Louth, and, it seems, in or near the spot where the town of Louth is situated. (120) It would appear, that his object was to fix there a permanent see; for it is added, that he was warned by an Angel, that his peculiar church was to be more to the North at Macha, afterwards called Armagh, the place he had conceived a predilection for being intended for a holy Briton. The saint then withdrew from that spot, and retired to a hill not far distant, since called, from his name, *Ardpatrick*. There he erected a church and spent some time, but how long we are not informed. Meanwhile Mocteus, the holy Briton already announced to him, arrived in that neighbourhood and established a monastery at Louth. (121) It is thus the matter is related in the Tripartite (122) and by Jocelin; but we know from better authority, that Mocteus was a disciple of St. Patrick, (123) and, although it is very probable that he was along with the saint in Louth, he was too young at that time to be the superior of a monastery. (124) There can be, however, no doubt of his having afterwards founded and governed the church and monastery of Louth as bishop or prior, or only priest (125) and abbot, until A. D. 535, the year of his death. (126) To this period, prior to the foundation of Armagh, and consequently to 455, we should assign, according to some accounts, the appointment of St. Carthen or Maccarthen to the see of Clogher, which, they tell us, St. Patrick had governed himself for some time. (127) If a circumstance connected with this subject be true, he could scarcely have been placed there so early; for he is represented as old and feeble at the time of his nomination to Clogher. Now it is difficult to suppose that, if he was old about A. D. 454,

he could have protracted his life until 506, the year in which he died. (128) He was undoubtedly a disciple of St. Patrick, (129) and became bishop of Clogher; but the precise time of his accession cannot be ascertained. As to the story of his having been with St. Patrick in Italy, (130) it is not worth attending to; but we may safely admit, that he accompanied the saint through various parts of Ireland; and he was probably one of those noble pupils whom St. Patrick had taken under his care, being of the illustrious house of the Arads of Dalaradia. (131) Some writers have said, that he governed the monastery of Darinis before he was placed at Clogher. That they were mistaken is evident from what is recorded of him in the Lives of St. Patrick and in the fragment of his Acts published by Colgan; whereas in these documents he is exhibited as having constantly attended St. Patrick, until, wishing for repose and a resting place, the saint appointed him to Clogher. (132) That he was worthy of his appointment appears from the great veneration, in which his memory has been held ever since. (133)

(120) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 65. *seqq.* Usher relates his having heard from the inhabitants of Louth, that St. Patrick had lived there for some time (Pr. p. 854.) Not only Jocelyn, whom he refers to, but also the Tripartite is favourable to this traditionary assertion.

(121) Archdall in direct opposition not only to the Tripartite but to Jocelin (*cap.* 134.) makes St. Patrick himself the founder of the monastery of Louth. He mistook what they say of the saint having, on quitting that country, given up the church, &c. of Ardpatrick to Mocteus for a grant to him of that of Louth itself. This account of the addition of the premises of Ardpatrick to the house of Louth smells too much of the times, when new possessions were bestowed on monasteries.

(122) *L.* 3. *c.* 67.

(123) Adamnan in his second preface to the Life of St. Columba says of him; "Proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii episcopi *discipulus* Moctheus nomine." In some editions

of Adamnan for *Moctheus* we find *Maveteus;* Colgan's edition has *Mauctaneus;* but Usher's *MS.* had *Moctheus.* The annals of Ulster likewise call him a disciple of St. Patrick. (See more *ap.* Usher, *p.* 855.)

(124) Colgan has Moctheus at 24 *Mart.* (*AA. SS.*) He lived to a great age, and is therefore usually styled *longævus.* Some story tellers, and among others Jocelin (*cap.* 135.) thence inferred that he lived 300 years. Colgan (*Notes to Acts*) rejects this nonsense and quotes an Irish distich, whence we may conclude that his age did not exceed one hundred. This was certainly an age sufficient to entitle him to the epithet of *longævus,* but not to make us admit that he had erected the monastery of Louth before the foundation of Armagh, that is, at the latest, A. D. 454, at which time he could not have been more than 19 years old, as his death occurred in 535.

(125) An Epistle attributed to him was headed with these words; Mauchteus peccator *presbyter,* sancti Patricii discipulus, in Domino salutem." The Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 98.) calls him St. Patrick's *arch-priest, archi-presbyter,* and in the book of Sligo, quoted by Usher he is styled simply *sacerdos.* Yet the Calendar of Cashel and the Donegal Martyrology speak of him as a bishop, and are followed by the Four Masters and Colgan (*Acts at* 24 *Mart.*). Ware also (*Writers*) mentions him by that title. If he ever were a bishop, it must have been after his Epistle was written. Would not Adamnan have given him that title, if it had belonged to him? His successors at Louth are called *abbots,* in the Irish Annals, until the 9th century, at which period bishops appear among them. (See Archdall at *Louth*). As to certain works attributed to him, and his having been confounded with Bachiarius. See Ware and Harris (*Writers*) and Colgan *loco cit.*

(126) Annals of Ulster, Usher *p.* 855.

(127) Jocelin *cap.* 143. The Tripartite makes mention of this appointment *L.* 3. *c.* 3. while it does not treat of the foundation of Armagh until many chapters lower down. But there seems to be an anachronism in the order of the narrative; for it gives some hints that the see of Armagh then existed. It has nothing about Clogher having been specially governed by St. Patrick.

(128) Usher, *p.* 856 and *Ind. Chron.*

(129) Tirechan's hist. in which he is called Carthen. See not. 14. and Tr. Th. p. 268.

(130) See Usher, *p.* 856.

(131) Usher, *ib.* Colgan says (*AA. SS.* 24. *Mart. p.* 737.) that he was of the very ancient family of Eochad son of Mured, which seems to have been a branch of the sept of the Arads.

(132) The story about Maccarthen having governed Darinis originated, I believe, with the Scholiast of Marian Gorman, who had, through mistake, given him, in his Calender, the surname of *Ferdachrioch*, that is, *the man of two countries or places*, a title which, as will be seen elsewhere, belonged not to Maccarthen, but to his successor Tigernach. The Scholiast, wishing to show how that surname was applicable to Maccarthen, introduced Darinis. In one or other of the places so called there might have been a Maccarthen, but not the one of Clogher. The other Irish martyrologies and calendars, when treating of Maccarthen, do not mention Darinis. Instead of its being certain, as Harris pretends (*Bishops, p.* 176.) that he had been abbot there, it is certain that he had not. The founder of the abbey of Darinis, now Molana (Co. Waterford) was St. Molanfide. Archdall has jumbled the matter most egregiously; after stating (at *Molana*) that it was founded by St. Molanfide in the *sixth* century, he adds, that "the abbot Ferdachrioch, who had *taken the name of Macarten*, and was consecrated bishop of Clogher, died A. D. 506." How could Maccarthen have been abbot of a monastery founded and already governed by another person in the sixth century, and having afterwards governed the see of Clogher, die so early in that very century as 506? Another pretty mistake is his making *Ferdachrioch* the original name, and *Macartin* or *Maccarthen* the surname. There was also a Darinis near Wexford, of which we find a St. Neman abbot in the seventh century (*AA. SS. at* 8 *Mart.*). To return to the Scholiast, what could have induced him, when looking for a second place for Maccarthen, to go so far from Clogher down to Munster, or to the South of Leinster? I scarcely entertain a doubt that he wrote not *Darinis* but *Damhinis*, now Devonish in Lougherne and in the diocese of Clogher. Yet this celebrated monastery could not have been governed by St. Maccarthen, not having been founded

until several years after his death by St. Laisre, *alias* Molaisse. (See Usher *p.* 962.)

(133) Only a part of his Acts fell into Colgan's hands, although Harris in his usual loose manner says (*Bishops, p.* 177.) that he published Maccarthen's Life *at large*. Usher seems to have had an entire Life, (see *p.* 856) which Colgan thinks was different from that whence his fragment was taken.

§. XIII. The time being now come for erecting a metropolitical see, St. Patrick departed from the district of Louth, after having probably spent about two years in that country and in some adjoining parts of Ulster. (134) He then went to the district of Macha, (135) where he was well received by Daire, a wealthy and much respected man, who made him a grant of a pleasant spot of ground on an eminence, called *Druim-sailech or Ardsailech*, that is, *hill of sallows*, (136) to build a church, &c. upon it. This high ground is that, on which the city of *Ardmacha*, or Armagh, rose by degrees, and where the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland was established. (137) St. Patrick erected a church there, together with, as we may safely conclude, an adjoining cloister for his clerical companions, which, considering the discipline and practices he had been accustomed to, might be called a monastery; (138) and it is very probable, that a habitation was provided in the neighbourhood for the pious women and virgins, who had placed themselves under his direction. (139) These were, at that period of the Irish church, as much as could be expected with regard to ecclesiastical establishments at Armagh, without recurring to certain stories concerning a number of churches, monasteries, and other buildings raised there by St. Patrick. (140) The time of this foundation has been very much contested, and of the various opinions concerning it there is not one, that is not liable to some objections. Usher and his followers, who affix it to A. D. 445, (141) are forced to lay down, that St. Patrick founded

Armagh before he had preached to at least one half of the people of Ireland, and prior to his mission to Leinster and afterwards to Munster. (142) Now, besides its being natural to suppose, that he would not have set about establishing a metropolitical see for all Ireland, until he had visited its various provinces and, observing the progress of the Gospel in each of them, arranged their ecclesiastical concerns, the whole series of his proceedings, as given in the Tripartite, and in which the chain of events is on the whole tolerably consistent, leads us to agree with it in placing the foundation of Armagh at least two or three years after St. Patrick's return from Munster, (143) and consequently about A. D. 455. The Bollandists have assigned it (144) to the year 454; but, if we are to follow the clue given us by Tirechan, (145) Colgan and Ware, may be equally correct in placing it in 455. Following a similar clue offered by others, whose authority, however, is not equal to that of Tirechan, we may affix it to A. D. 457 or 458. (146) Between these jarring computations I do not pretend to decide which is the most accurate. I think, indeed, that Usher's hypothesis is totally inadmissible; and as to the other computations, not only the testimony of Tirechan, but other circumstances, which will be soon touched upon, incline me to assign the foundation of that see to either an early part of the year 455 or a late one of 454.

(134) Usher, following his system of placing the foundation of Armagh A. D. 445, brings St. Patrick to Louth in 443, (Ind. Chron.) Upon a similar principle I think 453 preferable. The saint departed from Munster in the year 452. For his progress towards Ulster and his delay in Maghinis, &c. (sec. §. 11.) we may allow at least a year. This computation will answer for the supposition that his visit to some other parts of that province and to Louth commenced some time in 453.

(135) Macha seems to have been but a small territory. In it, however, was the royal city of Emania, the residence of the kings

of Ulster, which we find called by Irish writers *Emhain-Macha.* (See O'Donnel's *Life of St. Columba, L.* 1. *c.* 84). It was near where Armagh now stands, and according to O'Donnel (*loc. cit.*) still existed it St. Columba's time. It is mentioned in Fiech's hymn (*stroph.* 22.) but not as a royal residence; for it is said that "in Armagh is the seat of royalty;" and there is added, according to Lynch's translation; "Long has been the prerogative of Emania." The growth of Armagh contributed to its downfal. Colgan writes of its noble ruins (*Tr. Th. p.* 6.); "Emania prope Ardmacham, nunc fossis latis, vestigiis murorum eminentibus, et ruderibus pristinum redolens splendorem."

(136) Usher (*Pr. p.* 857, and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 445) and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 289.) call it *Salicetum.* For, besides Jocelin, who has (*cap.* 163) *Druimsaileach*, Probus (*L.* 2. *c.* 3.) called it the high ground "quae nominatur *Sailech*," and in the third Life (*cap.* 82.) we find *Drumsaileth.* In these Lives as also in the Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 68.) we are told that Daire at first refused the hill to St. Patrick, and gave him, instead of it, a place in the low ground, called, in some of them, *Fearta* (see Usher, *p.* 851); but that, being strongly affected by certain circumstances that occurred, he afterwards granted it to him.

(137) Probus (*L.* 3. *c.* 7.) writes; "Accepit ergo abeo (Daire) S. Patricius praedium optatum et placitum sibi, et aedificavit in eo monasteria et habitationes religiosorum virorum; in quo loco jam civitas est *Ardmach* nominata est *sedes ut episcopatus et regiminis est Hiberniae.*" *Ardmacha* signifies the hill of Macha, that is of the district so called, and not *high field*, as Ware and Harris have explained it. This is a more pardonable mistake than that of Seward, who (at *Armagh*) says, that its cathedral was called *Druim-sailec.* He ought to have known, that this was the name of the place, before a church was ever erected there.

(138) See *Chap.* IV. §. 9.

(139) In Usher's Tripartite (*Pr. p.* 858) it is said, that St. Lupita (see *Chap.* III. §. 18) was buried at Fearta (Not. 136.) while others place her remains at Armagh. But, as that place is very near the town, this difference can be easily reconciled. There was a church there, called *Temple na fearta*, and, according to Harris (*Monasteries*) a nunnery founded by St. Patrick. (See also Archdall at *Temple-furtagh.*)

(140) Jocelin (*cap.* 165.) represents St. Patrick as having built there a noble city, &c. &c. Strange that Usher has copied this stuff (*p.* 358). As to Harris, who has it also, he put into English whatever he could pick out of Usher's Latin. Probus mentions only religious houses as erected by St. Patrick (See *Not.* 137.) The Tripartite is still more moderate (*L.* 3. *c.* 78.) as it gives no account of any edifices at Armagh except of the church and the necessary habitations and out-offices for the clergy.

(141) The Annals of Ulster quoted by Usher, (*p.* 854.) are his authority on this subject. They have; "Anno Domini 444 (445) Ardmacha fundata est." He also observed that in the same annals the death of Iarlath, the third Archbishop of Armagh, is assigned to the year 482. Then he compares (*p.* 875.) this date with a catalogue of the prelates of that see, which was said to have been taken from the Psalter of Cashel, and which Colgan has published more at large (*Tr. Th. p.* 292.). In that catalogue eighteen years are reckoned for the administration of Iarlath, which Usher ingeniously stretches to the year 483, so as to place Iarlath's accession in 465. To Benignus the immediate predecessor of Iarlath are given 10 years, and thus Usher goes back to A. D. 455. Benignus is placed after Sen-Patrick, who also, according to said catalogue, governed for ten years, and thus we are brought to A. D. 445, the alleged year of the foundation of Armagh. All this might do very well, did not the catalogue mention Secundinus as predecessor of Sen-Patrick and holding the see for 15 years, or, as one of Usher's copies had it, six years (Colgan's edition has 16), and again prior to Secundinus St. Patrick himself. Now, if we should stand by this catalogue, it would follow that the see of Armagh existed more than 15 or 16 years before A. D. 445, and therefore prior to St. Patrick's mission, or, at least, more than six years before that time. Usher, to get rid of these difficulties, maintains that neither Secundinus nor Sen-Patrick (a personage, whose existence he otherwise admitted) were ever bishops of Armagh, and that the immediate predecessor of Benignus was the great St. Patrick himself. I agree with him as to Secundinus (see §. 4-9.); and also as to Sen-Patrick, not for the purpose of propping any hypothesis, but because there was no such person distinct from our apostle, although some writers have imagined there was. But of this more

below. What then becomes of the authority of that catalogue? If, as Usher is forced to acknowledge, it is wrong from its very beginning, how can we depend on its computation of the years of Benignus, &c.? And it must be recollected, that in said catalogue there is no reference to the years of the Christian era. Now we may be allowed to suppose, that the compilers of the Annals, called *of Ulster*, Charles Maguire and Roderick Cassidy (see Colgan *AA. SS. p. 5.* Nicholson *Ir. Hist. Libr.* and Harris's *Writers)* were induced by some such inaccurate catalogues, or perhaps corrupt copies of them, to affix, when connecting old computations with the years of our Lord, the foundation of Armagh to the year 445. Colgan says, (*Tr. Th. p.* 291.) that this is the most probable date, and adduces in favour of it a most extraordinary argument, *viz.* that it is the only one, which will leave room for the incumbencies at Armagh of Secundinus and Sen-Patrick. He proposes this argument just after having quoted Usher, who, as we have seen, rejects those two persons out of the list of Armagh, because, in the hypothesis of that being the true date, there was no room for them; and yet Colgan thought, that, to provide a place for them it ought to be received. The good man might have easily discovered, that, were we to admit, with the above catalogue, those persons as bishops of Armagh, the see should have been founded several years before *A. D.* 445.

(142) Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad* A. D. 448-449. Harris, having copied from Usher what he has about the foundation of Armagh in 445, chanced to see into this difficulty, and accordingly represents (*Bishops p.* 19.) Armagh, although founded, not as yet endowed with the metropolitical rights; for, he says, "it was not yet in St. Patrick's power to accomplish this; because the greatest part of Leinster and Munster had not been at this time reclaimed from paganism." This is a silly evasion, and in direct opposition to the statement generally given in the Lives; *viz.* that St. Patrick went to Macha for the express purpose of establishing his see there, and that, as soon as the church, &c. was erected, Armagh became immediately the metropolitan see of all Ireland. Giraldus Cambrensis has expressed it very perspicuously in a few words; "Baptizatis catervatim populis, et *tota jam insula ad fidem Christi conversa*, apud Ardmachanı sibi sedem elegit; quam etiam quasi *metropolim constituit*, et proprium *totius Hiberniae primatiae*

locum." (See more *ap.* Usher, *p.* 859.) Harris would not have been reduced to the necessity of resorting to that quibble, if he had put off this foundation until after St. Patrick's return from Munster.

(143) It may be worth observing, that even in Jocelin, and the 3d and 4th Lives, St. Patrick's preaching in Munster is treated of many chapters before mention is made of the foundation of Armagh, which is not spoken of until towards the end of each of those works.

(144) *Comment. Praev. ad Vit. S. P.* &c. §. 5.

(145) Tirechan, quoted by Usher *(p.* 854*)* says, that the church of Trim was built the *twenty-second* year before the foundation of that of Armagh. The year in which he supposed that Trim church was erected, was 433 (see *chap.* v. *not.* 35); and consequently, according to him, Armagh was founded either in 454 or 455. Now, although we are not bound to believe all that Tirechan and others have concerning Trim, we may safely believe that he knew something as to the time that Armagh was founded, and that his reason for specifying the 22d year, prior to it, was that this date corresponded with A. D. 433. Hence Colgan has *(Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.)*; "A. 455, Ardmacha extructa, et in sedem totius regni metropolitanam erecta per S. Patricium secundum S. Tirechanum." This computation is also that of Ware *(Bishops* at *St. Patrick)*; nor is the number, 455, mentioned by him, a typographical error, as Harris pretends; for, were it so, it would have been marked in the *Errata*, it being an error too important to be overlooked. I allow that on the point now under discussion Ware is rather obscure; he states that Armagh was founded A. D. 455, and governed for ten years by St. Patrick, until Benignus became bishop, who in 465, that is, in the very year of his appointment, as the English translator has it, resigned the see to Iarlath. Although I do not agree with Ware as to the latter assertion, yet there is no necessity for recurring to any typographical error. Harris might with more plausibility have appealed to Ware himself in other parts of his works. For in the *Antiquities (cap.* 29.*)* and *Annotat. ad S. P. Opusc.* (*p.* 141.) he has *A.* 445, following the Ulster Annals and Usher. But these tracts were published some years before the general work on *Bishops*, which did not appear until the year 1665, whereas the *Antiquities* came out in 1654 and the *Annotations* in

1656. Ware, on more diligent inquiry, changed his opinion between that year and 1665.

(146) The Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 2.) places the church of Trim 25 *years* before that of Armagh; Jocelin (*cap.* 52.) has the 25th *year*. The former would bring the foundation of Armagh down to *A. D.* 458 (See *not. prec.*); the latter to either 457 or 458. The Annals called *Cluanenses* (see Colgan *AA. SS. p.* 5.) place it about *A. D.* 457 (*ib. p.* 503.); and the 4 Masters, (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 290) have the year 457, (458). O'Flaherty, in a manuscript addition to *Tr. Th. p.* 318, gives an extract from an unpublished work of his, entitled *Ogygia Christiana*, in which, treating of the foundation of Armagh and of the succession in that see, he writes; "Ardmacha metropolis *A.* 458, a S. Patricio fundata est; et S. Benignus abeo sibi substitutus immediatus successor" With regard to the latter statement we shall see lower down; but as to the year 458, I dare say O'Flaherty's chief authority was that of the 4 Masters.

CHAPTER VII.

St. Patrick spends the remainder of his life in Ulster—Not different from Patrick senior or Sen-Patrick—Of the synods attributed to him—Of the bishops stationed in Ireland during the latter days of St. Patrick—Of the tract called his Confession—Place and time of his death—Celebration of his obsequies—Some observations on Patrick's Purgatory—Of certain treatises, which have been ascribed to St. Patrick.

SECT. I.

St. Patrick having thus established the see of Armagh, spent the remainder of his life between it and his favourite retreat of Sabhul or Saul. He may indeed have made excursions to some of the districts adjacent to both places; but we do not find

any account, at least that can be depended upon, of his having thenceforth visited again the other provinces of Ireland, or undertaken any long journey. For we are not to listen to Jocelin, who, alluding to the practice of his own times, tells us that our Apostle having fixed the metropolitical chair in Armagh, and brought over the *whole island* (1) to Christ, set out for Rome with the intention of getting the privileges of the new metropolis confirmed by the Holy See, and of procuring relics; and that, when arrived there, the Pope granted him every thing he wished for, decorated him with the pallium, and appointed him his Legate in Ireland. (2) This pretended tour to Rome, and the concomitant circumstances, are all set aside by the testimony of St. Patrick himself, who, as has been already observed, (3) gives us most clearly to understand that from the commencement of his mission he constantly remained in Ireland until he published his Confession, which was not written until after the foundation of Armagh; and that he did not leave it afterwards is equally plain from his telling us, that he was afraid to be out of Ireland even for as much time as would serve for paying a visit to his relatives, because in that case he would be guilty in the sight of God, and would disobey the orders of Christ our Lord, who had commanded him to come among the Irish and to stay with them for the *remainder of his life*. (4) In like manner fall to the ground some other fables, which Jocelin adds on this occasion, such as St. Patrick having, when returning from Rome, founded many monasteries in Britain, and filled them with monks, and his having brought thirty foreign bishops with him to Ireland. (5) A singular fact is related as having occurred about the time of building the church of Armagh, which shows how strictly the fasting rules were observed by the ancient Irish. One of St. Patrick's disciples, named Colman, having been one day greatly fatigued by getting in the harvest, became exceedingly thirsty,

but, for fear of breaking through the regulation of fasting until vesper time, would not taste even a drop of water. (6) The consequence was that, before the regular hour for taking nourishment came on, he died. Had the saint been apprized of the danger Colman was in, he would certainly have dispensed with his not observing the rules on that occasion. Colman was buried near the cross fronting the new church of Armagh, and was the first, whose remains were deposited in that burying ground.

(1) From these words it is plain that Jocelin supposed, that St. Patrick had, as stated in the preceding chapter, preached throughout all Ireland before he founded Armagh. (Compare with *ib. Not.* 142.)

(2) Jocel. *cap.* 166. There is not a word of all this in the other Lives of St. Patrick except in the Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 81 *seqq.*) which, however, makes no mention of his applying for a confirmation of his metropolis, his obtaining the pallium, &c. and merely exhibits the saint as proceeding to Rome in a miraculous manner, and there getting for his church of Armagh a great quantity of relics, concerning which it has some ridiculous fables not worth animadversion. This story was patched up to give a degree of lustre and dignity to the relics, which in later times used to be shown publicly at Armagh. Jocelin, having got hold of it, took care to add a good deal of his own invention to it. But owing to his ignorance of the ancient discipline of the Church, his additions are of a very clumsy sort. St. Patrick having been already invested with full powers, such as those that Palladius had enjoyed for propagating the Gospel and establishing the means necessary for preserving the Christian faith in Ireland, was not under any necessity of applying to Rome for a confirmation of the privileges annexed to the see, which he had chosen for himself. His right of appointing a metropolis flowed from the extensive nature of his mission, as he had been sent not to a part of Ireland but to the whole island, and there being no other bishop in the country when he arrived there, was, in fact, originally no bishop of *all Ireland*. And to this he alludes in his Epistle against Coroticus, where he says, "Hiberione constitutum epis-

copum me esse fateor." The bishops whom in process of time he appointed to various sees, having derived their authority from him, became, *ipso facto*, his suffragans; and according to the usual practice of all countries, these new bishops, and others afterwards appointed in whatsoever part of Ireland, continued suffragans and subject to St. Patrick's successors in Armagh, in the same manner as the primacy of St. Peter has descended to his successors in the see of Rome. St. Bernard's testimony concerning the extent of the jurisdiction of Armagh over all Ireland leaves not a shadow of doubt on this subject. In Jocelin's days a *special* confirmation by the Holy see was requisite for the establishing a metropolis, but this was not always the case in more ancient times. (See Fleury *Instit. in Dr. Eccl. part.* I. *ch.* 15.) Nor is there in the other Lives of St. Patrick the least allusion to an application as made by him for the confirmation of Armagh. On the contrary the Tripartite (*loc. cit.*) tells us that, *before* he set out for Rome in search of relics, he entrusted Secundinus with the care of the *archbishopric of Armagh and the primacy of Ireland*; thus supposing it to have been already fully established. There have been many opinions concerning the origin of metropolitical sees, which the reader will find some account of in Bingham's *Origines*, &c. (*Book* II. *ch.* 16.); but in the case of Armagh we have an argument directly opposite to those, who have pretended that the metropolitical rights of cities in the ecclesiastical system were founded on similar rights as to their civic or temporal dignity. The truth is, that according to the most ancient usages the primatial and metropolitical privileges were derived from the founders of sees, whether the places were great or small. The patriarchal rights of Alexandria descended from St. Mark; the primatial of Rome from St. Peter, the metropolitical of Armagh, where there was not even a house before, from St. Patrick. As to what Jocelin says of the Pallium, it is sufficient to observe, that no such ornament, as granted to archbishops or bishops, was used in the Western church until the sixth century. (Fleury, *ib. ch.* 14.) And as to the legatine authority, such as understood by Jocelin, St. Patrick had no occasion for it. (See *Chap.* II. §. 13.) But on these subjects more elsewhere.

(3) *Chap.* IV. §. 14.

(4) *Confess. p.* 17. It is strange that the Bollandists, who had

examined the Confession with some care so as to comment on and publish it, have admitted this pretended journey of St. Patrick to Rome. They might have observed that, had it taken place, it would have been mentioned in some of the Roman or other documents of the day. Their assigning it to A. D. 455 or 456, consistently with their placing the foundation of Armagh in 454, would bring it within the pontificate of Leo the great. Now it is scarcely credible, that the appearance at Rome of such a great saint as St. Patrick, announcing the conversion of a whole nation, could have been overlooked in the splendid and enlightened times of that Pope, whose transactions, as well as those of the persons with whom he had intercourse, have been so minutely recorded. Usher affixes that journey to A. D. 462, thus widely departing from his former computations; for, having assigned the foundation of Armagh to A. D. 445, he should, consonantly with Jocelin, his chief authority, have placed that journey very soon after, and accordingly not later than 446 or 447. But another story of this same Jocelin, who has done so much injury to our church history, led Usher astray on this point. Jocelin says (*cap.* 167) that St. David was in his mother's womb, when St. Patrick was in Great Britain on his return from Rome. Now Usher imagined that St. David was born in 462, and therefore he assigned (*Pr. p.* 870) the Roman tour to that year. What others have said about it, I will not inquire; for why dispute about nonentities?

(5) Jocelin *cap.* 167. 168. Usher has copied (*p.* 870. 872) this stuff; and Harris, as usual, follows in his train. Those would have been strange times for St. Patrick to travel through Britain and to found monasteries there, while the inhabitants were struggling for existence against the Saxons. Jocelin has already brought (*cap.* 92) thirty British bishops to Ireland. Thus between British and other foreign prelates we got sixty, a good round number for such a small country, exclusive of natives.

(6) It is well known that very many Christians in former times abstained, on fast days, until the time allowed for refection, not only from every nutritive substance but even from the lightest and simplest sort of drink. In the Life of the abbot Silvanus of Mount Sinai it is related that, as he and his disciple Zachary were travelling one day, the latter wished to drink of some water, which

he found on the way, when the abbot stopped him saying, "My child, this a fast day." (Tillemont. *Mem.* &c. *Tom.* x. *p.* 451.)

(7) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 77. Jocelin *cap.* 165. Colgan, *AA. SS. ad* 4 *Mast.*

§. 11. It has been said, that St. Patrick soon after the foundation of Armagh resigned the see to Benignus; (8) but neither do I find any sufficient authority for this assertion, nor does it agree with what we read in the more consistent accounts of those times, viz. that Benignus did not become bishop of Armagh until after St. Patrick's death. I should rather call it a conjecture than an assertion; whereas I dare say it stands on no better basis than a supposition, that the accession of Benignus took place in the year 458, which was thought to be that, in which the see was established. (9) It is impossible to reconcile the jarring dates and opinions that occur with regard to these subjects, and the only safe method we can pursue is to follow the thread of the history without altering it in compliment to chronological hypotheses. Nor can it be doubted that St. Patrick governed Armagh in person for some years. (10) Could it be proved that Benignus became archbishop in the year 458, it would follow, either that St. Patrick, having governed the see since 454 or 455, then appointed him administrator of it, or that he died in said year and was immediately succeeded by Benignus. As to the former supposition, we have no authority for it, nor is Benignus ever mentioned as a coadjutor or suffragan in that see. (11) For the latter there is certainly some foundation; whereas, besides Giraldus Cambrensis, who expressly states that St. Patrick died A. D. 458, Nennius, according as some writers have understood him, gives the same date by telling us, that sixty years elapsed from St. Patrick's death until that of St. Brigid. We must, however, observe that Nennius' computations will bring us rather to the year 465. (12) Yet, what

may appear of more weight than the authority of Cambrensis, some of our own Annals give a hint at the same date by laying down, that Sen-Patrick died in 458. (13) For, although their authors or, at least some of them, distinguished that person from the great St. Patrick, but as contemporary with him, yet in reality they were one and the same. Under the name of *Sen-Patrick* they understood an elder Patrick, *Patricius senior*, whom they supposed to be different from the Apostle. Now there is not mentioned in any of the Lives of St. Patrick (14) any such person as distinct from him; but we find the title of *senex* given to the saint himself at the part of his history relative to his latter days. (15) This epithet being applied to him, when he was really old, contributed in part to lead astray some of the writers of our Calendars, and compilers of Annals, as if there had been a Patrick older than the saint, and hence arose the confusion in that catalogue of the archbishops of Armagh, which has, besides St. Patrick, a namesake of his surnamed *senior*. (16) But this subject has been principally obscured by the fables concerning Glastonbury, as it was pretended not only that our Apostle was buried in that place, but that he had been abbot of that monastery, and even a deed was forged in his name relative to its supposed antiquities and privileges. (17) The Irish writers finding themselves puzzled by those Glastonbury stories, and unwilling to allow the Glastonians the honour of having among them the remains of St. Patrick, endeavoured to compromise the matter by giving them, instead of our Apostle, Sen-Patrick or Patrick senior. (18) This, however, was not what those monks wished for. They insisted on having a right to the great St. Patrick, and him alone they understood by the name of Patrick *senior*. (19) Nor is it improbable that this addition of *senior* was owing chiefly to those pretensions of the Glastonians; for, as there were in the course of ages several distinguish-

ed persons called *Patrick*, one of whom is particularly mentioned as having retired to Glastonbury in the ninth century, (20) the monks were not content with the honour of having had in their house a Patrick of a late period, but maintained that their Patrick was the most ancient one, the Patrick *senior*, the apostle of Ireland. Our writers thus pressed admitted a Patrick *senior* at Glastonbury, but took care to distinguish him from the apostle, while their condescension went so far as to allow that he was contemporary with him.

I should not have dwelt upon this subject of Patrick senior, had not even Usher, and, after him, Ware, Colgan, and many others (21) admitted the existence of such a person as distinct from St. Patrick. Usher complains more than once that he has been confounded with the apostle, and indeed some of his hypotheses, particularly that of assigning the saint's death to A. D. 493, required that they should be considered as distinct persons. The truth, however, is that they ought not to be distinguished; and accordingly when we find the year 458 mentioned as that of Patrick senior's death, we have a right to conclude that in some of our documents said year was laid down as the last of our apostle, just as it was understood by Cambrensis. But, as will be seen lower down, there are very good reasons for believing, that he died seven years later.

(8) See *Not.* 146 to *Chap.* VI.

(9) The 4 Masters *(ap. Tr. Th. p. 293)* place the foundation of Armagh in the year 457 (458); then they assign the death of Benignus to 467 (468). Now as Benignus had been supposed to have governed that see for ten years (*Not.* 141 to *Chap.* VI.) it would follow in that case that his accession took place *A. D.* 458. Hence it was concluded that St. Patrick gave up the see, when established, to Benignus. What then will become of the ten years, which the catalogue referred to *(ib.)* allows for Sen-Patrick, or rather for the real St. Patrick ?

(10) The words of St. Bernard (*Vita S. Mal. cap.* 7), "in qua (Ardmacha) et *vivus praefuit*," cannot be understood of his having merely founded the see. What we read in the Lives about his having proceeded to Macha for the purpose of there forming a permanent residence for himself (see *chap.* VI. §. 12.) proves the general belief that he had governed Armagh for no very inconsiderable time. Add to this, that Benignus is constantly called his successor, and not merely in the see, but, as will be seen lower down, in the primacy over Ireland; and in such a manner as plainly to indicate that he succeeded St. Patrick after his death. The Tripartite, (*L.* 3. *c.* 72) mentions Benignus as rather a young man and still a disciple at a time when St. Patrick presided at Armagh.

(11) The only person spoken of as administrator of Armagh during St. Patrick's life time is Secundinus, who is represented as such in the Tripartite (*L.* 3. *cap.* 81.) during St. Patrick's pretended absence at Rome. This is a mistake; first, because there was no such absence; and, secondly, because Secundinus was dead since A. D. 448. (see *Chap.* VI. §. 9) and therefore, some years (ten according to the Tripartite itself) before that see was founded. Upon this mistake, was built the introduction of Secundinus into the catalogue of the prelates of Armagh (*Not.* 141 to *Chap.* VI.) and the calculation of the Bollandists, who assign the death of Secundinus to A. D. 459. He had acted however as vicar and suffragan of St. Patrick elsewhere, and during a real absence of his from certain parts of Ireland. (See *Chap.* VI. §. 4.) But Benignus is never mentioned in our old documents as an administrator of Armagh but as *successor* there of St. Patrick.

(12) Nennius writes (*Hist. Briton. cap.* XI.) "A morte Patricii usque ad obitum Sanctae Brigidae 60 anni sunt." Usher observes (p. 883.) that, following the chronology of Sigebert, who places the death of St. Brigid in the year 518, this computation would bring back the death of St. Patrick to 458. Was Usher certain, that Nennius supposed the death of St. Brigid to have been in that year? I believe Nennius thought it was later, as it surely was. For he adds: "A nativitate Columkillae usque ad obitum Sanctae Brigidae 4 sunt anni." Now Columbkill was not born before the year 520, as will be proved elsewhere; and St. Brigid's death is in the Ulster Annals assigned to 524, while in some other documents it is placed in 525. (See Usher *p.* 884.) The year, that has

the best claim to the birth of Columba, seems to be 521 ; if we admit that this was known to Nennius, which he might have collected from Adamnan and Bede, it will follow that he placed St. Brigid's death in 525, from which deducting the sixty years back to St. Patrick, we have, according to him, our Apostle's exit in the year 465.

(13) The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 293) place the death of Sen-Patrick at A. D. 457, that is, 458. They followed the Annals of Ulster, which have these remarkable words at said year, "Quies Senis Patricii, ut *alii libri* dicunt. What can the *alii libri* refer to except the time of St. Patrick's death being marked in some books differently from the vulgar opinion that prevailed in the days of the compilers, *viz.* that he died in the year 493 ? It may be, however, that an allusion is here made to the date laid down, (A. D. 454) in the Annals of Connaught for the death of the old Patrick, *Sen-Patrick, senis Patricii episcopi Glosoniensis* (Glastonbury) *ecclesiae.*" See Usher *p.* 895.

(14) It is true that Fiech's Scholiast has Patrick *senex* or *senior* as distinct from the apostle. But his blundering scholia cannot be called a Life of the saint. He introduces him on occasion of striving to explain a very obscure passage of Fiech's hymn (*Stroph.* 33.), in which it is said that when St. Patrick died, he proceeded to another Patrick, and that their souls went together to heaven. What this means will be inquired into hereafter. The Scholiast says, that the *other* Patrick was Patrick *senior*, whose remains are at Glastonbury *of the Irish (Glastenberiae Hibernorum)* and that the soul of St. Patrick waited for him from the 17th of March until the latter end of August, at which time the latter died, that they might go to heaven together. This nonsense, which Colgan rejects with indignation, while it shows what little dependence is to be placed on the Scholiast, proves that he supposed his two Patricks to have died in the same year.

(15) The Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 86.) mentioning a circumstance that occurred after the foundation of Armagh, of a pair of horses bestowed by St. Patrick to Fiech of Sletty, calls him the holy *old Patrick:* "duos equos curriles, qui sancti *Senis Patricii* currum," &c. From the whole context it is evident, that the Patrick here spoken of was St. Patrick himself. (Compare with Jocelin, *cap.* 116.)

(16) See *Chap.* VI. *Not.* 141.

(17) This deed is in Wm. of Malmesbury's tract, *De Antiquitate Eccl. Glaston.* in Gale's xv. *Scriptores*, and has been published among the *Opusc. S. Patricii* by Ware, and in the *Monasticon Anglic. Tom.* 1. *p.* 11. It is entitled *Charta S. Patricii*, or *Epistola de antiquitate Avalonica*, from the old name of the island *Avalonia* (Somersetshire) in which that monastery was situated. Ware has ably exposed (*Annotat. p.* 131. *seqq.*) the absurdities of that spurious document; and Usher, who has written most learnedly on the Antiquities of Glastonbury (*Pr. p.* 104 to 125), observes (*p.* 116) that it was never heard of until after the arrival of the Normans. Yet the other stories as to St. Patrick having been at that place had been circulated earlier, and their origin can be easily accounted for. The first establishment of Glastonbury was founded, if not entirely, at least chiefly by religious men from Ireland, who, as Cambden states (*col.* 79 Gibson's *ed.*) held schools there of religion and learning and were maintained at the royal expense. Hence it was called *Glastonbury of the Irish* (See *Not.* 14.) The memory of St. Patrick could not but be greatly revered by the Irish settled there; and we find that the old church, that existed before the reign of king Ina, was called the *church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of St. Patrick* (see *Chap.* II. *Not.* 53). From these circumstances it was no difficult matter to deduce, in the ninth or tenth century, that St. Patrick had been there in person, and thence flowed all the other stories. That first establishment, however, could not have been formed as early as the time of St. Patrick, whereas it could not have been prior to the conversion of the Irish nation, and considering all circumstances, was subsequent to, at least, the partial conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, which did not take place until about the beginning of the seventh century. The princes, who encouraged the religious teachers at Glastonbury, were of that nation, and in that century numbers of holy and learned men went from Ireland to Britain for the purpose of converting and instructing the new settlers in that country. But although the commencement of the house and school of Glastonbury cannot, with any probability, be placed before the seventh century, yet there can be little doubt that it existed in an early part of it, as appears from a grant made in favour of it in the year 670 by Kenelwach a king of the West Saxons. (Usher *Pr. p.* 112.)

It is now clear, that all that has been said about St. Patrick having been abbot of Glastonbury, of his or any other Patrick contemporary with him, having been buried there, is quite fabulous. And although Wm. of Malmesbury represents its church as the most ancient in England, it will be found on close inquiry, that its real antiquity does not ascend higher than the period now mentioned.

(18) The Calendar of Cashel, a work of the 11th century (Colgan *AA. SS. p.* 5.) and consequently written after the promulgation of the Glastonbury fables, has (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 10.) these words at 24 August; "Senior Patricius Ros-delae in regione de Mag-lacha jacet; sed secundum aliquos, et verius quod Glastenberiae apud Galla Hibernos (*Walla Hibernos*) quae est civitas in regione Saxonum, et *Scoti eam inhabitant.*"

(19) Usher (*p.* 892. *seqq.*) quotes a heap of passages to this purpose. One writer has; "Hibernensium peregrini praedictum locum Glestoniae, sicut et caeterae fidelium turbae, magno colebant affectu; et maxime ob beati PATRICII SENIORIS honorem, qui faustus ibidem in Domino quievisse narratur." A Glastonian poetaster, having mentioned three Patricks, adds; "Archiepiscopus *primus* Hiberniae—Is *primus* postea abbas Glastoniae." He was angry with those, that did not allow St. Patrick's remains to be at Glastonbury; "De hoc Patricio, Columba, Brigida—Delirat plurimum Chester in chronica—Scribens in Duno quod horum corpora—Sunt uno tumulo." And it is the great St. Patrick, who is so often spoken of in the rhapsody of William of Malmesbury.

(20) Ranulph of Chester in his *Polychronicon L. 5. c.* 4. as quoted by Usher *Pr. p.* 896 (for by the bye I do not find the words there in Gale's edition *ap.* xv. *Scriptores*) relates that an abbot Patrick retired from Ireland about A. D. 850, to Glastonbury, and that he died there on the 25th of August. But on account of that being St. Bartholomew's day, his festival was put off to the following day, and pretended to be the same as the festival of St. Patrick the apostle, whom the monks claimed. Usher was mistaken (*Ind. Chron. ad a.* 850) in placing the abbot's death on 25th August, every where else the 17th of March was considered as the great St. Patrick's day. Why transfer it to August 25th? The fact is that their real Patrick was the one mentioned by Ranulph, or some other Patrick, perhaps of the 7th or 8th

century, that died on the 24th August; and then comes this most striking circumstance, that the Calendar of Cashel (see *Not.* 18.) and that of Marian Gorman or his Scholiast (*AA. SS. p.* 366.) affix to that day the death of Patrick senior, who, says Marian, was of Ros-dela in the country of Mag-lacha, where he is placed also by the Calendar of Cashel and Fiech's Scholiast in the passage alluded to above (*Not.* 14.) while they add that he was not buried there but at Glastonbury. Colgan (*Ind. Topogr.* to *Tr. Th.*) says that Ros-dela was in Ossory, where (*ib.*) he places also Mag-lacha. Yet he has (*Ind. Top.* to *AA. SS.*) a Mag-lacha in Thomond, in which country we find Mag-lacha the birth place of St. Senan of Inniscatthy. (See below *Chap.* IX. §. 4.) It is most probable, that the Patrick of Ros-dela was the real Patrick of Glastonbury. Colgan, treating of divers persons called *Patrick* (*AA. SS. p.* 366) found himself greatly perplexed. Wishing to maintain the existence of a Patrick senior in the apostle's time, he says that he was first at Ros-dela, then bishop of Armagh, and afterwards at Glastonbury, &c. Then he strives to find out another Patrick, who also went to Glastonbury, but in the ninth century.

(21) The Bollandists, to avoid the many difficulties that occurred on this subject, gave a new turn to the name *Sen-Patrick*. According to them it does not mean Patrick *senior* or the *elder*, but the son of Sannan, called *Deacon Sannan*, who is said to have been a brother of the apostle (Usher *p.* 824); so that *Sen-Patrick* is the same as *San-Patrick*, or Patrick son of Sannan. This Patrick has been called Patrick *junior*, and is distinguished by Usher both from the apostle and from Patrick *senior* (*p.* 894.) He is the Patrick who, according to Jocelin, (*cap.* 16β.) was buried at Glastonbury. In this point Jocelin is followed by the Bollandists; but they add a circumstance directly opposite to what he has; for they make this Patrick succeed his uncle in the see of Armagh and govern it for ten years, while Jocelin states that after the uncle's death he went straight to Britain, and remained there for the rest of his life. These fine conjectures of the Bollandists will not answer any purpose. In the first place there were no nephews of St. Patrick in Ireland; secondly all the Glastonbury stories and the passages of our writers concerning *Sen-Patrick* are relative to a Patrick the *elder*; and nothing is

more evident than that the name was a mere abbreviation of *Senior Patrick* or Patrick *senior*.

§. III. To return to St. Patrick's proceedings at Armagh, it is related that, when the see was fully established, he held synods, (22) in which canons were decreed and ecclesiastical matters regulated. It is indeed very natural to suppose that he did, and two of them are particularly mentioned; but the accounts of their acts are very imperfect. One of those synods is called simply the *Synod of St. Patrick*, and the other bears the title of the *Synod of bishops, i. e. Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus*. Under the head of the former are some canons, which seem to have been enacted at a later period, or perhaps in some other country; but among the canons of the latter, with one or two exceptions, we meet with nothing to make us doubt that it was really held in Ireland and by those bishops. (23) This synod is generally supposed to have been held about A. D. 456, (24) and, I believe, justly; for it is plain from the whole tenour of the canons that they were intended for every part of Ireland, and consequently after the whole system of the Irish church had been consolidated by the establishment of Armagh, which, as has been seen, (25) most probably took place in 454 or 455. Next we find in them every mark of a church well provided with ministers not only of the higher order, bishops, priests, and deacons, but also of the inferior rank, such as the *lectores* and *ostiarii*. Abbots, monks, and nuns are also spoken of. These institutions, without referring to other proofs, are sufficient to show, that a fully formed church existed in Ireland when the synod was held. Now it would be very difficult to understand how the Irish church could have grown to such maturity before about the year 456. Nor can it be placed much later than that year, whereas Auxilius, who was present at it, died in 460. (26) Besides the canons belonging to the two

synods, there are extant many others attributed to St. Patrick, which will be treated of in another place. (27).

(22) Jocelin, *cap.* 168.

(23) Even Tillemont, notwithstanding his critical scrupulosity, admits that, excepting two or three of the canons, he could find no reason for denying their genuineness. (*Mem. &c. Tom.* XVI. *p.* 786.)

(24) Spelman, (*Concil.* &c. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 52) has, *circa A.* 456. Wilkins (*Concil. M. B.* &c. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 2.) simply A. 456. Harris having, in obedience to Usher, assigned the foundation of Armagh to the year 445, places (*Bishops p.* 20.) the synod in 448. He was right, however, in supposing it subsequent to that foundation.

(25) *Chap.* VI. §. 13.

(26) Annals of Ulster, (*ap.* Usher *p.* 827.) The 4 Masters, quoted by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 19.) place the death of Auxilius in 454, that is 455. If this were the true date, we might calculate that the synod was held immediately after the foundation of Armagh in 454 or 455, and that Auxilius died very soon after. But the 4 Masters, in assigning that date, do not agree with themselves when they affix the foundation of Armagh to 458, so that the synod would have been, in this hypothesis, held before Armagh was established; which cannot be admitted.

(27) See below, Chap. XXXII. §. 11.

§. IV. It may be asked why the names of Auxilius and Isserninus alone appear joined to that of St. Patrick in the title of the synod now mentioned. Could the reason be that they were the only bishops then in Ireland? I can scarcely believe such to have been the case. Benignus indeed could not at that time have had the care of the see of Armagh; for, if he had, he must have assisted at the synod, and the omission of his name would be quite unaccountable. But in several of the canons bishops are spoken of in such a manner as plainly to indicate, that there were some in every part of Ireland, and

that their number was proportional to that of the clergy in general. (28) Unless then we should suppose that these canons were added after St. Patrick's time, for which I do not find sufficient grounds, it must be admitted that bishops were then stationed in various parts of the country. As to their not having attended at the synod, we may be allowed to believe that their presence in the districts assigned to them could not have been well dispensed with at that period; and we may add that it might not have been prudent to hold a large assembly of persons from divers quarters, lest the king Leogaire, who was still alive, and other pagan chieftains, should take umbrage at such proceedings. The whole matter seems to have been conducted in the following manner. St. Patrick having established his see, and wishing to make regulations for the right government of the whole Irish church, called to his assistance Auxilius and Isserninus as being, next to himself, the most experienced and, since the death of Secundinus, the oldest prelates, as to the time of ordination, then in Ireland. (29) Nor will it be any discredit to the newly promoted bishops, chosen out of the Irish converts, to admit that they were not yet as well versed in matters of ecclesiastical discipline as those venerable prelates, who had been always Christians and had, from their earliest years, studied in the schools of the Continent. Assisted by them our apostle drew up those decrees, which, although written in a very brief manner, contain a great deal of excellent matter, and show that the authors were well acquainted with the more ancient canons of the church. They are, in fact, rather in the form of instructions and injunctions delivered by St. Patrick to the clergy of Ireland, then the result of the proceedings of a synod properly so called.

(28) The 23d canon runs thus; "Si quis presbyterorum Ecclesiam aedificaverit, non offerat antequam adducat *suum pontificem*

ut eam consecret." The 24th requires that no strange clergyman be allowed to officiate in any manner, unless he be permitted by the bishop; and there is added, "Nam qui a Gentibus sperat permissionem alienus sit." The mention here made of Pagans proves the great antiquity of this canon. In the 30th a bishop, who may go into the diocese of another, is ordered not to attempt to ordain any one unless he get permission for so doing from the ordinary. Such regulations as these could not have been made for Ireland, were there but three bishops throughout the whole extent of it.

(29) See *Chap.* VI. §. 1.

§. V. It would be satisfactory to know who were the other bishops in Ireland during the latter days of St. Patrick, and which were their sees. Were we to believe certain story-tellers the country was then crowded with bishops. They tell us, that St. Patrick had consecrated between three and four hundred of them. (30) This extravagant assumption so contrary to the established discipline of the church, (31) and concerning which the more correct accounts of our apostle are totally silent, (32) does not merit the trouble of refutation. Tirechan's list of particular disciples of St. Patrick (33) may help, in some degree, to guide us as to this matter. It is, however, an imperfect guide. In the first place we do not know whether all those persons were ever bishops, and it is almost certain that several of them were not; (34) secondly, as to those who became bishops, it is clear that some of them were not raised to that rank until after St. Patrick's death; (35) while, with regard to others, it is doubtful at what time they were appointed. Next it is to be observed that of several of those disciples scarcely any accounts remain. (36) With the aid, however, of other data or hints that list will enable us at least to guess at some of our bishops, that were contemporary with St. Patrick. And first as to Ibar, there called *Iborus*, of Beg-erin, although he was not a bishop as early as has been vulgarly imagined, (37) yet I think there can be no

doubt of his having been one before our saint's death, as in all probability he was old enough to be raised to that dignity prior to A. D. 465. Next comes Fiech of Sletty, or Feccus, who, considering the time that he first became a member of the clerical body, (38) was assuredly, long before said year, well qualified for the episcopacy. Mel or Melus ought, I believe to be placed in the same class. He was a Briton, and is said to have been a bishop when he arrived in Ireland. (39) Whether or not, he is stated to have been a bishop about A. D. 453; (40) nor do I find any reason to doubt of it; and it seems that his appointment to Ardagh took place when St. Patrick was on his way from Munster to Ulster. He died in the year 488. (41) Maceleus comes next, the same in all probability as Maccaleus, (42) whose name has become memorable in consequence of his having been the bishop, from whom St. Brigid received the veil, about, as some writers have calculated, A. D. 467. (43) We may reasonably suppose that he had been consecrated before the year 465. His church, that is, as now usually expressed, his see, was at Cruachan Brigh-eile in Hyfalgia, a place somewhere in the King's county; but his jurisdiction seems to have extended over a considerable tract of country. (44) To these we may add Cethecus or Cethiacus, who, although it cannot be admitted that he was a bishop prior to the year 440, (45) yet, according to the concurrent testimony of our ancient writers, must have been consecrated before St. Patrick's death. (46) Having been employed by the saint as bishop in various parts of Ireland, we cannot point out any fixed see for him, unless we should so call the place where he was buried, viz. Kilgaradh or Oran in Roscommon. (47)

(30) The Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 97.) has 370 bishops consecrated by St. Patrick himself. Nennius, and others after him, (see Usher *p.* 950.) have 365, a favourite number, as Lloyd has observed (*On*

Church Government, Ch. IV. §. 3.), in the style of exaggeration, being equal to that of the days of the year. Jocelin (*cap.* 185.) reduced them to 350, which number he probably took from the old catalogue of Irish saints (see Usher *p.* 913.), to the first order of which, beginning with St. Patrick, 350 holy bishops are assigned. But it does not make them all consecrated by St. Patrick as Jocelin does; and besides it gives that number not only for St. Patrick's time but for the whole period, that extended to near the end of the reign of Tuathail, that is, to near A. D. 544. There can be no doubt, that after St. Patrick's death the number of bishops encreased rapidly, and still more so that of the *chorepiscopi*, who, however, in the old Irish documents are usually included under the general denomination of *bishops*. Accordingly there might have been in the course of above a hundred years, reckoning from about the year 440 to 544, between bishops properly so called and *chorepiscopi*, about 350 in all.

(31) The general rule was that bishops were not to be appointed, unless there was a necessity for them. I will not, in the case of Ireland, lay any stress upon the canon of the Council of Sardica, which had been enacted before St. Patrick's time, and required that bishops should not be placed except in respectable cities; for that canon could not be applied to this country, in which very few cities were then to be found. And not only the creation of a see at Armagh, until then only a field, but numberless other instances prove that it was never observed in Ireland. Nor was it strictly adhered to in other countries (see Bingham, *Book* 11, *ch.* 12.); yet no example is to be met with in any country, entirely Catholic, of such a great number of bishops at one time, as that of 350 would have been for Ireland. I say *entirely Catholic*; lest any one might alledge the case of the numberless bishops in Africa during the schism of the Donatists.

(32) Probus says (*L.* 2. *c.* 35.) that St. Patrick had ordained bishops, priests, &c.; "post episcopos et presbyteros in ecclesia ordinatos, post *totum* ecclesiasticum ordinem bene ac perfecte compositum." This agrees with what we read in the third Life (*cap.* 94.) and the fourth (*cap.* 95.); "post episcopos, presbyteros, diaconos, reliquosque ecclesiasticos ordines constitutos." Neither these Lives nor Probus mention the number of those bishops nor

of the other members of the clerical body appointed by St. Patrick.

(33) It has been published by Usher, (*p.* 950) as follows; "Benignus, Bronus, Sachellus, Cethiacus, Carthacus, Cartenus, Connanus, Firtnanus, Sigeus, Cetennus, Seneaticus, Olcanus, Iborus, Ordius, Naziarius, *Miserneus*, Senachus, Secundinus, Gosachus, Camulacus, Auxilius, Victoricus, Bressialus, Feccus, Menathus, Cennanus, Nazarus, Melus, Maceleus, Mactaleus, Culeneus, Asacus, Bitheus, Falertus, Seseneus. Muirethchiser, Temoreris (qui fundavit ecclesiam sanctam Cairce, quam tenuit familia Clonoaviss) Daigreus, Justianus mac Hy, Daimene, Oltcanus, Domnallus, et alii quamplurimi." By *alii quamplurimi* I dare say Tirechan (alluding not to the whole nation but merely to St. Patrick's particular disciples) meant to insinuate that there were, at least, as many more as those, whose names he has given. Thence would result a number of above 80 persons. *Miserneus* is, I believe, only another name for Isserninus or Esserenus, made up by prefixing the endearing letter *m*. It would be odd that, having particularly mentioned Secundinus and Auxilius, he would have omitted their venerable colleague Isserninus. Instead of *Justianus mac Hy*, *Daimene*, read *Justinus*, *Mac-hua Daimene*, that is a person of the family of Daimene, who, according to Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 286.) was Endeus of Arran.

(34) Usher (*loc. cit.*) seems to speak of them as if they were all bishops and in St. Patrick's time. But it cannot be admitted that there were then about 80 bishops in Ireland. Tirechan must, I think, be understood not of bishops but of disciples, some of whom became bishops either before the saint died, or after, while others did not. Colgan, when quoting his catalogue, calls them simply disciples, and mentions the festival days of several of them without giving them the title of *bishop*. (See *Tr. Th. p.* 268.)

(35) For instance Mactaleus, who was bishop of Kilcullen, must have been very young when St. Patrick died; for he lived until A. D. 549. (*Tr. Th. p.* 19.) And even supposing that he had not lived so long, he could not have been bishop there until after the death of Isserninus in the year 469. (Usher, *Ind. Chron.*) Even Benignus was not raised to the episcopacy during the lifetime of our Apostle. (See above, *sect.* II.)

(36) Little or nothing is known of Firtnanus, Sigeus, Cetennus,

Seneaticus, Ordius, Naziarius, Camalacus, Bressialus, Menathus, Nazarus, Culeneus, and Muirethchiser. Seseneus was probably the Sezinus or Sezni of Guic-Sezni in Britany. (See *Not.* 5 to *Chap.* VI.) Who Carthacus was I cannot well discover; for it is hard to believe that he was the celebrated Carthach, grandson of king Aengus of Cashel, and who, having flourished in the sixth century, was master of the still more celebrated Carthach or Carthagh of Lismore. Unless we should admit that there is an error in the list, it may be concluded that he was a still older Carthach, and probably of the same illustrious family. Might Culeneus have been the same as St. Mac-Culindus, who is said to have been bishop of Lusk, where his memory was celebrated on the 6th of September, and to have died in 497? (See Butler's *Lives of Saints* of 6th Sept. and Archdall at *Lusk*.

(37) See *Chap.* I. *sect.* XIII. and *Chap.* VI. *sect.* VII.

(38) See *Chap.* VI. §. V.

(39) In his Acts (6th *Febr.*) Colgan quotes a passage to this purpose from a Life of St. Brigid, which, erroneously I think, he attributes to Ultan of Ardbraccan. According to other accounts which are more consistent, Mel was raised to the episcopacy by St. Patrick himself; and even Jocelin, however partial to British bishops, joins (*cap.* 102) in this statement. As to what is said of his having been a nephew of St. Patrick by his sister Darerca, we have already seen what opinion ought to be formed of such stories. Add that in said Life of St. Brigid, whence the whole account of Mel is chiefly taken, this or any other relationship to our apostle is never mentioned.

(40) In the Life of St. Brigid just referred to he is said to have been a bishop, when that saint was in her mother's womb. Now she was born about A. D. 454.

(41) Annals of Ulster, Usher (*Ind. Chron.*), Ware (*Bishops* at *Armagh*). The day of his death was the sixth of February. Harris, to shew his learning and appear as correcting Ware, says that an old Calendar "placeth his death on the 8th of the Ides of February, that is the 5th of February 487, with which the Annals of Ulster agree." The poor man did not know that the 8th of the Ides corresponded not to the 5th but the 6th of that month, as Ware has it; although he might have found it in all the common tables of the Roman Calender. And as to A. D. 487 it was ac-

cording to the computation of some of our old annalists, the same as 488. Ware understood these subjects vastly better than his dull corrector. Two or three of our ancient writers have distinguished Mel from Melchus, and have been followed by Ware and Colgan. Melchus, according to one account, was brother to Mel; and, what must appear very singular, they are both placed together as joint bishops at Ardagh (*Tripart. L. 2. c. 26*). Ware, to guard against this absurdity, places Melchus after Mel. Then we have Melchus's festival also on the sixth of February. Two brothers, co-bishops of one see, and dying on the same day of the year! The fact is that they were one and the same person, and the real name was probably *Melchu*, which having been latinized and contracted into *Melus*, to bring it nearer to *mel*, honey (for, as the Tripartite has, *L. 2. c. 29.* Melus was *homo vere melleus)*, gave occasion to this distinction. Would not Tirechan, having particularized Mel, have mentioned also Melchu, had such a person been his brother and along with him at Ardagh? Or would his name have been omitted in all the Irish martyrologies and annals, while they make particular mention of Mel or Melus? Even Jocelin has Mel alone. And in the old enumerations of St. Patrick's pretended nephews, with the exception of an interpolated one (*Tr. Th. p. 227.*) we find only Melus. He is said to have written some Memoirs concerning St. Patrick. If so, they are not now extant.

(42) Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p. 268.*) that Maceleus was perhaps one Macetus or Maccectus, a person mentioned in the Tripartite. Strange that he should look out for that obscure person, while he had at his hand Macalleus, whose name, considering the Irish and ancient manner of pronouncing the letter *c*, was the very same as *Maceleus* or *Makeleus*. But having found Maccalleus elsewhere, and wishing to swell the number of St. Patrick's disciples, he thought it better to distinguish him from the Maceleus of Tirechan.

(43) Usher *(Ind. Chron.)* That St. Brigid received the veil from Maccalleus will be proved in its proper place.

(44) In a passage from Tirechan quoted by Usher (*p. 1031*) it is said, that St. Brigid got the veil from the son of Cuille or Caille, *i. e.* Maccaille in *Uisniuch Midi* (Usneagh in Westmeath). Yet he might have happened to be in that place, although it was

not his usual residence; and it was probably comprized within the district, or, as we now call it, the diocese assigned to him. Cruachan-brigh-eile in Hy-falgia is expressly mentioned in the Calendar of Cashel and other documents (*Tr. Th. p.* 525.) as the place where his church was. Colgan says (in *p.* 231.) that it was on the confines of Leinster and Munster, by which he meant, I suppose, Munster according to its former extent before a part of it was added to the King's county. The *Eile*, with which the name of that place terminates, was perhaps the district commonly called Ely O'Carroll. Maccaleus has been thrust in among the pretended nephews of St. Patrick in the interpolated enumeration alluded to above, *Not.* 41.

(45) Compare with *Chap.* VI. *Sect.* I.

(46) See *Not.* 87 to *Chap.* V. (47) *Not.* 88 to *Chap.* V.

§. VI. There are some other persons mentioned in Tirechan's list, who certainly were bishops, but whether before or after the death of St. Patrick, let us briefly inquire. Bronus of Caissel-ira (West Cashel in Sligo) was a bishop in St. Brigid's time, (48) and I should have no difficulty to admit that he was one before St. Patrick's demise, except that his having lived until A. D. 512 renders it rather improbable that he had been raised to that rank before the year 465, unless we should suppose that he lived to a very great age. On a similar principle there is reason to doubt also of Cartenus or Maccartin of Clogher having been a bishop before that period; for, although he died earlier than Bronus, *viz.* in 506, yet his being represented as old, when appointed to that see, excites a suspicion that he was not consecrated prior to the death of our apostle. (49) Asacus, or as others call him, Asicus, is one of those, whom a very old tradition acknowledges as a bishop in that early period of the Irish church. He was placed at Elphin, and, according to some accounts, as *bishop*, (50) by St. Patrick. It is, however, doubtful whether he was one during the saint's life time. It is related of him

that, through a penitential spirit, he withdrew from his diocese and retired to the mountain Sliebhliag (Slieve-league in Donegal), where, after a considerable time, he was discovered by his disciples. He could not be prevailed on to return to his see, but went with them to a solitary place, and, when dead, was buried at Rath-cunga (51) (barony of Tyrhugh in said county). Next to Asacus is mentioned Bitheus, concerning whose episcopacy some doubts might be entertained were he not mentioned in quotations from old documents as a bishop and contemporary with Bronus and Asacus, who was his uncle. (52) This last circumstance is sufficient to show, that he did not become a bishop until after St. Patrick's death; for, if it is doubtful whether the uncle was one at so early a period, we may conclude that the nephew was not. Where his see or church was I cannot rightly discover. (53) He is said to have been buried at Rath-cunga, (54) where his uncle's remains had been deposited. Olcanus was undoubtedly a bishop, and, if Usher's calculation could be suported, might have been one before A. D. 465. But, as has been already observed, (55) this cannot be reconciled with the testimony of the Tripartite, according to which he was not born until about the year 443. It is said that he went to Gaul for the sake of study, and, having after a considerable lapse of time returned to Ireland, presided over a great school, and was raised to the episcopal rank. (56) His see was in that part of the now county of Antrim anciently named *Dalrieda*, (57) and is called by some *Derkan* or *Derkon*, by others Rathmuighe or Airthir-muighe. (58) He has been sometimes called *Bolcan*, and his festival was held on the 20th of February. (59) Cennanus or Kennanus was, I believe, the celebrated St. Kienan of Daimhliag (60) or Duleek, whose death our Annalists affix to A. D. 489. (61) Did other circumstances agree, it might be admitted, that he was a bishop before the death of St. Patrick; but we are told that he was

born nearly about the same time with Olcan, and consequently about the year 442. (62) In this case his promotion to the episcopacy could not have been prior to about 472. His native place was, I dare say, not in Ulster, as the Tripartite seems to state, but in Meath. (63) He was of an illustrious family, and is said to have been baptized, when an infant, by St. Patrick. The Kenan mentioned by Usher, and who, he says, went to Gaul and became a monk in St. Martin's monastery of Tours, was, as far as I can judge, a different person. (64) That Kenan was a native of Connaught, and is said to have erected a church in the territory of the Eugenian sept, (65) while our Kienan was either a Meath or an Ulster man, and his peculiar church was at Duleek, of which he was the founder. (66) He wrote a life of St. Patrick, and his festival was kept on the 24th of November. (67) I am strongly inclined to reckon among those distinguished men of Tirechan's list, who became bishops either in or not long after St. Patrick's time, also Falertus, or Felartus, or, as sometimes called, *Fulartus* of Domnach-mor in Magh-Seola, now Donaghpatrick in the county of Galway; (68) not because he is mentioned as such in the Tripartite, which, unless corroborated by other authorities, cannot be safely depended upon with regard to the times of our bishops; but because I find him also in the Life of Benignus as having been placed there by St. Patrick. (69) If this statement be true, which I find no reason for contradicting, we must admit that his promotion took place before the death of our Apostle, although, for reasons already more than once assigned, it could not have been prior to the year 440.

(48) See *Chap.* v. *sect.* ix. *Not.* 86.

(49) See *Chap.* vi. *sect.* xii.

(50) Jocelin, *cap.* 107. The Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 39.) quotes from an ancient author a passage, in which it is said that St.

Patrick placed Asicus at Elphin. But it does not state whether he was then a bishop or not. According to the chronology of the Tripartite Asicus would have been fixed at that place about A. D. 437 (see *Chap.* v. *sect.* IX.) at which time he could not have been a bishop. After some words we read in said passage; "Assicus sanctus episcopus fuit faber aeris Patricii." Here he is called bishop; but the addition of his having worked in brass for St. Patrick would seem to indicate that his promotion did not take place until after, at least, the foundation of Armagh, when the saint, having a permanent residence, had occason to employ him. Next we may suppose, that he was not made bishop of Elphin until after he had ceased to work at Armagh, as he must have resided in his diocese. The passage above referred to may, I think, be explained in the following manner. Asicus was placed at Elphin when a priest by St. Patrick not many years after the commencement of his mission; when Armagh was founded he was summoned thither to assist in making utensils for the use of the church; afterwards, but whether before or after the death of the saint cannot be ascertained, he became bishop of Elphin.

(51) Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 40.—Archdall makes Rathcunga an abbey founded by St. Patrick, and refers to Colgan. But neither he nor the Tripartite mentions St. Patrick founder of an abbey there. At most they attribute to him the erection of a church at Rathcunga. (See *Chap.* VI. §. II.) But whatever was the religious house in that place, it owed its origin, at the earliest, to the followers of Asicus.

(52) Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* III. Compare with *ib. c.* 39 and 43.

(53) The Tripartite has (*L.* 2. *c.* 52.) "St. Bronius, S. Biteus de Caissel-ira." Bronius was certainly bishop of that place; but do these words mean that Biteus was also bishop thereof? If so he was not appointed to it until, at the earliest, A. D. 512, the year in which Bronius died, and accordingly must have been very young when a disciple of St. Patrick. Or is there a transposition in the text, so as that it should be read, "St. Bronius *de Caissel-ira*, S. Biteus," &c.

(54) Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* III. (55) *Chap.* VI. *sect.* III.

(56) Jocelin, *cap.* 86. It is strange that Usher, who (*p.* 951.) took his account of Olcan from Jocelin, has affixed his return from

Gaul to A. D. 450 (*Ind. Chron.*) Jocelin exhibits Olcan as having been baptized, when an infant, by St. Patrick; and, without recurring to the Tripartite, it is plain that this baptism took place some years after the commencement of the saint's mission. Then Olcan is represented as a grown up person (*grandiusculus*) when he set out for Gaul. Now, adding the time that he spent there, how could he have returned to Ireland as early as the year 450? The Tripartite does not mention Olcan's studies in Gaul.

(57) See *Not.* 24 to *Chap.* v.

(58) Usher, following Jocelin, calls it Derkan, and says that the name still remains in a part of the Routs (Dalrieda) called *Clon-Derkan*. The Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 128.) calls the see *Rathmagia* or *Airthirmugia, the chief town of Dalrieda*, not far from Dunluce (see Seward at *Rathmuighe*). Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 114.) conjectures that Derkan was the name of the district, in which the town Rathmuighe was situated.

(59) Colgan, *AA. SS.* ad 20 *Feb.* There was another Olcan (Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 92) also called *Bolcan* or, as Jocelin writes it (*cap.* 141.), *Volcan*. He was, as Colgan observes, (*ib. p.* 377.) only a priest, and his festival was on the 4th of July. He is known by the name of Olcan of Kilmormoyle: (See *Not.* 120 to *ch.* v.) and was probably the *Olicanus* of Tirechan.

(60) *Daimhliag* signifies a house of stone. If the church built of stone at Duleek was, as is generally said, erected by Kienan, it will follow that stone buildings, although rare in Ireland before the eleventh century, yet were not quite unknown. If, however, it should be contended that the original church founded by Kienan was not of stone, and that the place, where it was situated, did not get the name of *Daimhliag* until a later period, I shall not enter into a controversy about it.

(61) Ulster Annals, followed by Ware, (*Antiq. ch.* 26.) Annals of Innisfallen—4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 217. Colgan (*ib.*) doubts of this antiquity, and refers to a Life of a St. Mochua, whence it would appear that Kienan did not erect Daimhliag until about or after A. D. 540. But in this case how could he have been a disciple of St. Patrick, which, however, Colgan maintains? Had he given us the passage he alludes to, we could be better judges of the matter. Meanwhile we may adhere to the date marked in the Annals.

(62) See Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 126.

(63) Kienan was born in Kennacta. There were two territories known by this name, one in Meath, and the other in the now county of Londonderry, the name of which is still retained in the barony called Kenaght. The Kennacta of Meath was the very district, in which Duleek is situated (see Tripart *L.* 2. *c.* 48.) It is then more probable that this was the Kennacta, in which Kienan was born, although the Tripartite elsewhere (*ib. cap.* 126.) seems to make the other Kennacta his country, owing, I should think, to its having been recorded in general terms, that he had been born in Kennacta, without its being specified whether it was that of Ulster or Meath.

(64) Usher (*p.* 1070) refers to a Life of the Kenan, whom he makes mention of, but says nothing of Duleek, although he names various places, in which that Kenan is said to have been. Colgan, however, applies (*AA. SS. p.* 443.) to Kienan of Duleek what Usher has of his Kenan, and so does Harris (*Bishops. p.* 137.) and Archdall (at *Duleek*). Usher sends his Kenan to Gaul in the year 450 (*Ind. Chron.*). Archdall, in his blundering manner, makes that the year, in which St. Patrick baptized Kienan.

(65) Usher explains this by *Tyrone*; but it might be as well understood of Innish-owen; and I strongly suspect that this was the district alluded to. For it is added, that Kenan placed over that church his beloved disciple Congellus. Now we find a Congel or Coemgal abbot of Both-chonais in Innish-owen (*AA. SS. p.* 454.). It is true that he lived about the latter end of the 7th century while Kienan is spoken of as having been a boy in the time of king Lagerius (Leogaire says Usher). But such anachronisms are far from being uncommon in those Lives. I am confirmed in my suspicion by the circumstance that Kenan is said to have been instructed by the *most religious* Nathan. Who could this person be except the celebrated Nathy of Achonry, who lived in the sixth century, and had taught several eminent persons, among others the great St. Fechin, who died A. D. 665? If, instead of *Lagerius*, we should read the name of some other Irish king of a later period, there will be nothing inconsistent in the account of Usher's Kenan, who was probably one of the two Kenans (*ap* Colgan *AA. SS. p.* 443) different from Kienan of Duleek.

(66) In all the documents I have met with relative to Kienan the foundation of that church is attributed to himself. Archdall, however, foists in St. Patrick as its founder.

(67) The Calendar of Cashel (*Tr. Th. p.* 217.) has at Nov. 24. "Sanctus Kienanus de Damliag, filius Sadnae—Hujus S. Kienani remanet incorruptum et illaesum corpus: scripsit vitam S. Patricii."

(68) See *Chap.* v. *sect.* x.

(69) The passage is rather curious and deserves to be quoted. "Quidam tempore perrexit S. Patricius in occidentalem plagam Connachtensium, id est, in campum Sinil; et adivit domum Echini filii Briani, filii Ethac, regis Connachtensium. Et Patricius quaesivit hospitium ab illo. Et Echinus negavit, et noluit ipsum salutare, vel ad fidem converti. Et tum S. Patricius reversus est ad illum locum, in quo hodie est Domnach-mor-muige Sinil, sive *Domnach-Patruic;* et fundavit ecclesiam, in qua reliquit Felartum *episcopum.*" See more *AA. SS. ad* 29 Mart.

§. VII. A few others of those named in the list have been called bishops; (70) but we have not authority sufficient for deciding whether justly or not. Besides the persons, whose names are there given, there were some other bishops in Ireland at or about the period we are now treating of. One of them was Tassach of Rath-colptha near Down, from whom St. Patrick received the holy viaticum, and who is spoken of, in some of the Lives, as a bishop at the time that he administered it to him. (71) Another was Hercus or Ercus bishop of Slane, who might have been consecrated before the year 465. For, although he lived according to some accounts until A. D. 513, or, as others have it, 514, yet, as he was in his ninetieth year when he died, there is no anachronism in supposing that he was a bishop prior to St. Patrick's decease. (72) We may add, I believe, Mochoe or Mochay of Antrim, who, although sometimes mentioned by the name of *abbot*, yet is also styled *bishop*. (73) As he died in the year 497, it may be reasonably admitted that he was one as far back as A. D. 465. (74) If

Moctheus of Louth became a bishop, as indeed his Acts published by Colgan, and several respectable authorities would make us believe, I should have no difficulty to admit that he was consecrated about the year 470. It is true that his death is assigned to A. D. 535. But as he lived to the age of, at least, 100 years, these dates can be very easily reconciled. Having treated of him elsewhere, it would be superfluous to add more at present. (75) To this same period I would willingly assign the promotion of the great Ailbe of Emly, if we be allowed to suppose, that he lived to a very great age, as it is said that he did. (76) He certainly was not a bishop when he joined St. Patrick in Munster, (77) nor much less at any time before that period. (78) Considering, however, that he was under our Apostle's tuition as early as perhaps the year 445, (79) and granting that he was only ten years old, it will not be denied that he could have been raised to the episcopacy about 465. The Bollandists have assigned the year 464 to his consecration ; but the principle, on which they formed this date, is quite too doubtful to be depended upon. (80) Yet, as he was a man of extraordinary merit, it may be fairly conjectured that he was promoted as soon as his age would permit ; and the only remaining difficulty will be, that, in case he was 30 years old about *A. D.* 464, he must have reached the age of about 93 years, whereas he died in 527. This hypothesis implies nothing extraordinary, particularly when there is question of persons of religious and abstemious habits, who, generally, live much longer than people of other descriptions. The circumstance of Emly having been considered as the most respectable see in Munster before the rise of Cashel, (81) seems to show that it was founded in St. Patrick's life time and no other person than Ailbe has ever been spoken of as its first bishop. We know that he was actively employed, as will be seen hereafter, in forwarding, as bishop, the

interests of religion in Munster during the reign of Aengus, who was killed A. D. 490. To this list of these early prelates I cannot add Declan for reasons already enlarged upon. (82) I should be much more disposed to add Trian, who is said to have had his residence in a northern part of Munster. (83) His being described as a Roman, that is, a continental bishop, brings us back to an early period of the Irish church, and to those times when many holy men took shelter in Ireland before the Franks embraced the Christian religion.

(70) *Ex. c.* Sachellus, Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 52. Seneachus, *ib. cap.* 62. (See above *Chap.* v. §. x.) Victoricus or Victor, *Tripart. L.* 3. *c.* 12. (See *Chap.* vii. §. iii.) But, were we to receive as bishops all those, who are so called in the Tripartite, there would be no end to them. Jocelin, however, an authority poor enough, has Victor, *cap.* 139. Archdall has an abbey Kilcholpa in Down for Tassach. Rathcolp is placed by him in Mayo, also for Tassach. What stuff to swell up his book!

(71) See Probus, *L.* 2. *c.* 35. Tripart. *L.* 1. *c.* 71. Third Life, *cap.* 89, &c.

(72) See *Chap.* v. §. v.

(73) Tripart. *L.* 1 *c.* 53. Jocelin, *cap.* 37. Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 265.

(74) See *Chap.* v. §. iii. A Durdracht of Antrim is mentioned in some Irish Calendars. But nothing certain is known as to the time, in which he lived. For we are not bound to give credit to a *Menologium genealogicum* quoted by Colgan, (*Tr. Th. p.* 110.) which makes him one of the pretended brothers of Dicho, St. Patrick's first convert. (See *Not.* 17 to *Chap.* v. Archdall swallowed this story and (at *Antrim*) has Durtract before Mochay. Another mistake is his affixing Mochay's death to A. D. 493 or 496. As to 493, I do not know where he found it; but the real year was 497, called indeed by the Annalists, to whom he refers, 496. He ought to have known, that, in their mode of computation, 496 was the same as what we call 497. It has been conjectured that Mochay's see was not Antrim but Dundrum in the county of Down. This cannot be reconciled with his being constantly known by the name of Mochay *Aendrium*, that is, as I find it generally explained, Antrim. Aengus Kelideus,

quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 95.), calls him "Mochay *Aendromensis* de *Loch-Cuan*. This was the Lake of Strangford, in the neighbourhood of which Mochay was born. (See *Chap.* v. §. III.) I am sure, that Archdall (at *Timahoe*) is also mistaken in assigning the monastery of Teach-Mochoe (Timahoe in the Queen's county) to this St. Mochoe. For it is he, whom Archdall alluded to, as is clear from his placing the death of the founder of Teach-Mochoe in 497. There is no reason to think, that St. Mochoe of Antrim had any establishment out of Ulster, nor that Teach-Mochoe was founded at that early period. The first abbot of it mentioned by Archdall, after Machoe, died in the year 925. The founder of it was undoubtedly some other Mochoe or Mochua, by which name many Irish saints were called. I may here observe, that Ware and Harris have omitted the monastery of Timahoe. Yet there certainly was one in that place.

(75) See *Chap.* VII. §, XII. I will merely observe that the rhapsody, called his *Acts*. (at March 24) although short, is crammed with fables, and seems to have been patched up by a foreigner.

(76) Ware, *Ant.* 9. *ch.* 29. at *Emly*.

(77) See *Not.* 76 to *Chap.* VI. (78) *Chap.* I. §. XI.

(79) See *Chap.* VI. §. VI.

(80) See *Not.* 84 to *Chap.* 1. and *Not.* 76 to *Chap.* VI.

(81) *Not.* 67 to *Chap.* VI. (82) *Chap.* 1. §. XII.

(83) See *Chap.* VI. §. XI.

§. VIII. At length we are come to the last days of St. Patrick. Passing over some unauthenticated circumstances, which, if true, would seem to have occurred not long before his death, (84) this was the period, at which he wrote his Confession. He was old, when he set about it, (85) and it seems he felt his dissolution approaching. (86) He had been already throughout every province of Ireland; (87) and he speaks of the bulk of the nation as then Christian, (88) and of his having ordained clergymen every where. (89) His object in writing it was to return thanks to the Almighty for his singular mercies to himself and to the Irish people, and to confirm them in their faith by proving that God had assisted him in a most ex-

traordinary manner for the purpose of effecting their conversion. (90) He also wished that all the world, and particularly his relatives in the Continent, who had so urgently opposed his going to Ireland, should know (91) what the Almighty had been pleased to operate through his ministry, and that his mission had been undertaken not rashly but in obedience to the will of God. For this latter reason he composed it in Latin, apologizing, however, with great humility for the coarseness of the style. But, as he had been obliged to adopt another language, the Irish, instead of his own, the Latin, it was not to be expected that his style should be as terse as that of persons, who were constantly practising and improving themselves in the latter tongue. (92)

(84) The Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 94, 95.) has a prophecy of St. Patrick concerning a certain Dichul, whom it calls *abbas Ernatiensis*, and who was afterwards abbot of Louth. Who he was otherwise, or at what time he lived is not known; at any rate he was long after our saint's days, *emenso multo tempore*, as Jocelin says, (*cap.* 140). Colgan, conjectures (*Tr. Th. p.* 115.) that he was the Dichul revered in the church of Cluainbraoin near Louth, and that this might have been what the Tripartite calls *Ernatiensis*. But he says nothing as to the time of that church's erection, or by whom founded, or whether an abbey or not. Archdall, however, from these premises deduces this notable statement; "We are told that St. Patrick founded an abbey at Cluainbraoin near the town of Louth." One half of his Monasticon has been patched up in this ridiculous manner.

(85) "Quatenus modo ipse appeto in *senectute mea*." *p.* 4.

(86) He concluded it with these words; "Et haec est Confessio mea *antequam moriar*." Ware (*Annotat. p.* 108.) says; "Verba haec innuere videntur illum, non diu ante obitum suum, eam literis mandasse." The saint writes as bequeathing to his Gallic and Irish cooperators in the work of the Gospel the many thousands of Christians then in Ireland; "Ut etiam post *obitum meum* Gallicis relinquerem fratribus, et filiis meis quos ego in Domino baptizavi, tot millia hominum." *p.* 6.

(87) " Inter vos et *ubique* pergebam causa vestra—etiam usque ad *exteras* (extremas)—partes." *p.* 19.

(88) " Unde autem Hiberione, qui nunquam notitiam Dei habuerunt, nisi idola et immunda usque nunc semper coluerunt, quomodo nuper facta est plebs Domini et filii Dei nuncupantur." *p.* 16. By *Hiberione* he means in this place the Irish nation according to the well known idiom of using the name of a country for the people, such as *France* for the French nation, &c.

(89) " Ut clerici *ubique* illis ordinarentur." *p.* 14.

(90) " Ego non silebo neque abscondam *signa et mirabilia*, quae mihi a Domino ministrata sunt." *p.* 17.

(91) Etsi in multis imperfectus sum, opto fratres et *cognatos* meos scire qualitatem meam, ut possint, perspicere votum animae meae." *p.* 3.

(92) " Sicut caeteri—qui sermonem illorum ex infantia nunquam mutaverunt, sed magis ad perfectum semper addiderunt ; nam sermo et loquela nostra *translata est in linguam alienam*." *p.* 4.

§. IX. St. Patrick was at Saul, when he was attacked with his last illness. (93) That place was, as has been already observed, (94) a favourite retreat of his. But we are not to give credit to the story of his having there spent the last 30 years of his life in retirement, a story made up merely for the purpose of dividing into even numbers the pretended 120 years of age vulgarly assigned to him. (95) In the greatest part of his Lives there is not a word about any number of years thus spent in a contemplative manner, and whatever time they allow for his abode in Ireland is made commensurate with that of his preaching and pastoral exertions. (96) But, as has been already remarked, (97) no reliance can be placed on those fanciful divisions of St. Patrick's years, and it is strange that some writers of real learning allowed themselves to be led astray by them. The saint, perceiving that his departure from this world was near at hand, wished to go to Armagh for the purpose of breathing his last and leaving his mortal remains in the place, that had been chosen for his peculiar see

and the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland. When on his way thither, he was, it is said, stopped by an Angel, who ordered him to return to Saul, as that was the place, in which it was decreed that he should make his exit from this world. (98) Be this as it may, he went back to Saul, and died seven days after on the 17th March, (99) having been attended by the bishop Tassach and received from him the holy viaticum. (100) In Fiech's hymn we read that, when our Apostle died, his soul joined that of another Patrick, and that they proceeded together to heaven. (101) In this singular passage the author alludes to a second Patrick, who, as he supposed, died just about the same time with ours. He could not have meant a Patrick of Nola, a person whom he had never heard of, as his name was not in any public calendar or martyrology. (102) Nor could he have alluded to, the so called, Patrick *senior*, whereas that person's death was affixed to the 24th August. (103) For the same reason that second Patrick was not Patrick of Nevers. (104) Nor was he the pretended Patrick *junior*, who, according to whatever has been said about him, survived our Apostle some years. (105) We may therefore conclude that the said second Patrick was, in the opinion of the author of the hymn, the Patrick of Auvergne, whose depositio, or death, is assigned in some old martyrologies to the 16th of March. Now, supposing that there was such a person, it can be easily understood how, as his exit took place on the eve of the 17th of March, that author might have joined the two Patricks together, particularly if he imagined that one died late at night and the other early in the morning. It is, however, more than probable that Patrick of Auvergne was in reality the same as our St. Patrick, and that in consequence of a mistake in writing *Avernia* for *Hibernia* or *Hivernia*, his name got into the martyrologies as distinct from that of the apostle of Ireland. Through another mistake the 16th of

March, the vigil of St. Patrick's day, might have been taken for that of his festival. That some such mistakes occurred is the opinion of very learned men, who could not discover any trace whatsoever of a Patrick bishop of Auvergne. (106)

(93) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 101. Fiech's Scholiast *ad Stroph.* 23. Third Life, *cap.* 88, &c. &c.

(94) *Chap.* v. §. 11.

(95) An Irish poem, called St. Patrick's *Testament*, is quoted on this occasion. That it is not merely *fidei incertae*, as Ware says (*Annot. ad SA. Op. p.* 109.) but really spurious, it would be easy to show, if necessary. Even Colgan mentions it as having been composed in the *name* of St. Patrick (*Tr. Th. p.* 234) and, when expressly treating of the writings ascribed to him (*ib. p.* 214) says nothing about it. In it is a fictitious dialogue between our apostle and St. Brigid, of a stamp similar to that of the dialogues with Ossian and the champion Caoilte. According to a Latin translation of part of it by one Kelly, St. Patrick is made to say, that of the 120 years of his life he spent 30 in preaching throughout Ireland, and 30 more at Saul. (See above *Chap.* IV. §. 1.) This story got into Usher's Tripartite, but with a slight variation; for it does not make our saint pass the whole of the last 30 years at Saul but in various monasteries, leading in them a contemplative life. (See *ib. Not.* 8.). Jocelin having struck out (*cap.* 191) a new division of St. Patrick's life, allowed 33 years for the time spent by him in that manner chiefly at Saul and Armagh.

(96) Besides Usher's Tripartite, Jocelin's is the only Life, in which those years spent in contemplation are spoken of. In Fiech's hymn (*strophe.* 20.) St. Patrick is said to have preached for sixty years. The second Life (*cap.* 22.) and the fourth (*cap.* 26.) have the same, after premising that he was 30 years of age when he went to study under St. German, and that he spent the 30 following years with him. Concerning this notable sort of chronology enough has been seen already. All this to make up the favourite number, 120.

(97) *Chap.* IV. §. 1. 11.

(98) Probus, *L.* 2. *c.* 32. Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 101. Jocelin, *cap.* 187. See also Fiech's Scholiast *ad Stroph.* 23. 24.

(99) Probus writes (*L. 2. c.* 33); "Haec Angeli dicta post septem dies, in die scilicet XVI. Calend. Aprilis expleta sunt circa B. Patricium."

(100) Probus, *ib. c.* 35. Fiech's hymn, *stroph.* 27. Tripart. *L. 3. c.* 103. The third Life has (*cap.* 89); "Appropinquante autem hora exitus ejus, dedit ei *sacrificium* episcopus Tassach.

(101) "Quando decessit Patricius, venit ad Patricium alterum, et simul ascenderunt ad Jesum filium Marie." *Stroph.* 33.

(102) See *Chap.* II. §. XV.

(103) See above, §. II. *Not.* 20. The stupid Scholiast indeed understood it so; but has been well chastized by Colgan (See above, *Not.* 14.).

(104) A Patricius *Nivernensis* is in Usuard's and the Roman martyrologies under the name of *Abbot Patrick*, at the 24th August. (Usher *p.* 897.) This is the very day, at which the Glastonians had their Patrick. In the martyrologies the Patrick of that date is placed at Nevers (*Nivernis*) without any mention of Glastonbury. Colgan has strangely misunderstood Usher on this subject. He applies (*Tr. Th. p.* 7.) to Patrick of Nevers what Usher has about another Patrick called *Arvernensis* (Auvergne). Usher had expressly stated, that the day marked in the martyrologies for Patricius *Nivernensis* is August 24, while the day assigned to Patricius *Arvernensis* is the 16th of March. Colgan, confounding *Nivernensis* with *Arvernensis*, says that Patricius Nivernensis is revered on March 16.

(105) Above *Not.* 21.

(106) The Bollandists, having examined this subject very closely, conclude thus (*Ad 16 Mart. Sancti Prætermissi*); "S. Patricii Episcopi et Confessoris depositio Avernis, sive Avernis, memoratur apud Usuardum, Bellinum, Galesinium, et in hodierno martyrologio Romano, in cujus *Notis* haeret dubius Baronius, *cum inter episcopos Arvernenses non recenseatur*, et tandem putat errore praetermissum, *nisi alterius fortassis civitatis episcopus fuerit.* Joannes Savaro, vir eruditus, in *Originibus Arvernensibus*, cusis et recusis, late hoc dubium deducit, asseritque *nullum vestigium esse apud Arvernos nominis, reliquiarum, aut alicujus cultus* St. Patricii episcopi, sed hunc in praedictis martyrologiis allegatum alium non esse quam *S. Patricium episcopum Hiberniae, sive Hiverniae*, pro quae voce alibi substitutam fuisse *Arverniae* sive *Averniae*,

maxime cum *primo loco* apud Usuardum *sequenti die* legatur, *Natalis S. Patricii Episcopi et Confessoris in Scotia*; a quo die ob ejus *Vigiliam* ad *ultimum* hujus diei locum potuit in nonnullis fastis translatus fuisse, ac tandem loco *Vigiliae* intrusum fuisse nomen *depositionis*, quod absque ulteriore examine potuit descriptum deinceps fuisse." In the *Gallia Christiana*, under the head of the *Bishops of Clermont* (in Auvergne) *Tom.* 2. no Patrick appears. From these mistakes proceeded the mention made of Patrick of *Avernia* in the Glastonbury stories (See Usher, *p.* 895.). Maurice, one of Ledwich's champions (*Antiquities* &c. *p.* 364.) says; "Who can tell but Patricius *Avernensis* may have sunk a day lower in the Calendar, and made the Irish a Patricius *Hibernensis*?" Such quibbles are too contemptible to be answered. So then a Patrick, of whom nothing is known, would be the real one; and he, whose fame has resounded through the Christian world, must be converted into a phantom. Shame! Shame!

§. x. It would be well, were we as certain of the year as we are of the day of St. Patrick's death. The various dates assigned for it have been already mentioned, (107) and it would be a waste of time to examine them in detail. But before endeavouring to discover the true year, it becomes necessary to show, that he did not live until A. D. 493, the year laid down in the Annals of Ulster and of the 4 Masters, which have been followed respectively by Usher, Ware, Colgan, &c. If this date, to the plausibility of which Usher's ingenuity has chiefly contributed, can and ought to be set aside, the principal objections to any other hypothesis will immediately fall to the ground. In the first place I must observe, that said date is not founded upon any positive record, in which the saint's exit was affixed to it, but upon the supposition that his mission lasted for sixty full years, which, being reckoned from a late part of A. D. 432, (108) the year of his arrival, bring us down to 493. But what proofs are there to force us to admit, that St. Patrick lived to the uncommon age of, at least, 104 years? For such would be the case in

this hypothesis, as it is certain that he was not less than 44 years old, (109) when his mission commenced. And what are the grounds, on which that number of sixty years was introduced? None that I can discover except the whimsical conformities between our apostle and Moses (110) first started by some theorist, and afterwards gradually received by way of pious belief. These conformities are of old standing, and, I dare say, more ancient than any of the present Lives of St. Patrick, including even Fiech's hymn; for we find them not only in Nennius but likewise in the fragments of Tirechan. One of them consisted in allowing 120 years for the life of our saint. Then it was thought expedient to divide this number into certain parts, and the best sounding division was reputed that of two equal ones of sixty each, viz. before and after his arrival on the mission, which were again equally subdivided. (111) Thus the full sum of 120 was retained and admitted even by some, who placed St. Patrick's death long before A. D. 493. (112) In like manner the number of sixty years for his preaching was allowed by some chroniclers, who assigned it to A. D. 491. (113) This hypothesis, however, clashed with other accounts, according to which the whole time of his mission did not exceed 40 years. (114) New calculations were then entered into, in which, while some of them broke in upon the round numbers of 120, 60, &c. care was taken to allow an extraordinary length of time for his age; and hence arose, first, the jarring systems as to the number of his years, (115) and, secondly, the addition, to the time spent in preaching and active exertion, of many years passed in retirement and contemplation. (116)

(107) *Chap.* IV. §. I. 11.
(108) See *Chap.* V. §. 1.
(109) See *Chap.* IV. §. 3.
(110) *Chap.* IV. §. 1.
(111) See above *Not.* 95. 96. and *Chap.* IV. §. 1.
(112) Nennius, according to whom St. Patrick, must have died

about A. D. 465 (above §. 2.) has the 120 years; and Giraldus Cambrensis affixing our saint's death to 458, adds "*in the 120th year of his age.*" (*Topogr. Hibern. dist.* 3. *c.* 17.)

(113) Marianus Scotus, or his interpolator, has at A. 491; "S. Patricius obiit—LX annis in Hibernia praedicavit." Yet in the same chronicle, at A. 432, he is said to have preached only 40 years. Usher has endeavoured (*p.* 880 *seqq.*) to amend the text of Marianus in one way, and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 233.) in another. Neither of them, however, has done it in a satisfactory manner. The probability is that Marianus really allowed no more than the 40 years, which is the number marked also by a Scholiast to Nennius, (See *Chap.* IV. §. 1.) and that afterwards some dabbler in chronicle-making inserted in another part of the text 60 years, the number mentioned in other documents. He affixed them to the year 491 in consequence of his supposing that this was the year of St. Patrick's death; while according to what Marianus has at A. 432, the saint would have died in 472. Florence of Worcester, who also, as well as Sigebert and others, places his death in 491, allows sixty years for his preaching. (See Usher *p.* 881. and Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 232. 255.) These chroniclers supposed that St. Patrick arrived in Ireland in 431, following Bede (*Epitome*) and others, who assigned the arrival of Palladius to A. D. 430, (See Usher, *p.* 899.)

(114) See *Not. prec.* Jocelin allowed for it only 35 years, and the Glastonians reduced it to eight. (Usher *p.* 379.)

(115) *Chap.* IV. §. 1.

(116) See above *Not.* 95. The Glastonians counted 39 years thus spent by St. Patrick, and, they said, at Glastonbury. (Usher, *p.* 879.)

§. XI. As therefore no dependence can be placed upon those preconceived hypotheses and vague traditions concerning the number of years assigned for St. Patrick's whole life, or for the course of his mission, &c. a different method must be resorted to, by which we may come, at least, near to the true year of his death. That he did not live until A. D. 493 nor until 491, (117) is evident from this circumstance, that Benignus his successor in the see of Armagh

died In the year 468. (118) To ward off this argument Usher, and after him Ware and others pretend, that Benignus was appointed to that see during the life time of St. Patrick; but they could not produce any authority for this assumption, (119) while on the contrary every old document, that can be referred to on the subject, represents Benignus as a real successor of our Apostle, that is, after his death. And first we have the life of Benignus himself, in which the matter is so stated. (120) Next come all such Lives of St. Patrick, as make mention of or allude to the accession of Benignus to Armagh; in them it is constantly exhibited as having taken place after the decease of his master. The Tripartite, after relating how Benignus, when a boy, became a pupil of the saint, introduces the latter saying; "He will be the *heir* of my power, that is, he will be *after me* the supreme moderator of the Irish church." Then it adds; "And this prophecy was proved by the event; for he became afterwards so distinguished by his learning and miracles, that in the opinion of all persons he was judged worthy of *succeeding* his master S. Patrick in the archbishoprick of Armagh and primacy of Ireland." (121) Here we find Benignus called the *heir* of St. Patrick, and the saint *foretelling* his appointment, not *appointing* him, and the opinion or *judgment* of others mentioned as the immediate cause of his promotion. Several other Lives agree in substance with this statement. (122) If it should be objected that the assigning of St. Patrick's death to some time before A. D. 468 cannot agree with what those Lives have concerning the great number of years, which they allow for his life, I will reply, that I am not bound to answer for their bungling computations, particularly as, with the exception of Jocelin, (123) none of them mention the year of our Lord in which he died. The question is not which were the years, in which they might have imagined that St. Patrick or Benignus died;

but whether they believed that the former died before the latter. Now as to this point they are unanimous, and it is of such a nature that it could have been easily known ; while the other question was involved in the darkness arising from jarring reckonings, nor did they trouble themselves about it. As soon, however, as the fact of our apostle having died before the incumbency of Benignus is ascertained, it necessarily follows that he could not have lived to as late a period as even A. D. 480. For, should we, for argument sake, admit that Benignus did not die quite as early as 468, yet we know that Iarlath his successor died 482, and was succeeded by Cormac, who died in 497. In confirmation of what has been now laid down, I beg to refer the reader to the account given of St. Patrick's prophecy concerning St. Brendan ; (124) of Nennius' computation of the times of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and Columbkill; (125) and of Kienan of Duleek who, as we are told, wrote a Life of St. Patrick, and consequently must have survived him, although he died himself in 489. (126) Further arguments will be found elsewhere, derived in great part from the genuine history of St. Brigid.

(117) Baronius (*Annal.* ad *A.* 491) and Petavius (*De Doctrin. temp. Tom.* 2. *ad An. per. Jul.* 5204) following the present text of Marianus Scotus (see *Not.* 113.) affix St. Patrick's death to A. D. 491. At the same time they state that he died at the age of 82 years. They did not reflect that these positions could not be reconciled, unless we were to suppose, what no one will admit, that St. Patrick was not born until A. D. 409, and so would have been a bishop when only 23 years of age, viz. in 432, at which time his mission commenced. They should either have placed his death much sooner than 491, or given him a much longer life.

(118) Ulster Annals (Usher *p.* 877.) 4 Masters (*Tr. Th. p.* 293.) Ware (*Bishops* at *Benignus.*) &c. &c.

(119) See above §. 2.

(120) *Tr. Th. p.* 293. The same is found in a passage of the

Acts of Moctheus, which Usher himself has quoted (*p.* 876.) Colgan, perceiving that the Annals place the death of Benignus *bishop of Armagh* in 468, and that according to his own Life as well as that of Moctheus, he succeeded St. Patrick when dead, was so puzzled that he threw out *(ib.)* a conjecture of a most extravagant kind. The Benignus, he says, who died in 468, was different from the Benignus, who succeeded after St. Patrick's death, viz. after A. D. 493. But where could he have found a second Benignus bishop of Armagh in those times? All our writers mention but one, the great Benignus the favourite disciple of our Apostle. Nor was there room for any Benignus in that see about A. 493; whereas the then bishop was Cormac. Colgan was not unacquainted with Usher's evasion, but did not think himself authorized to resort to it, as he could not deny that St. Patrick died prior to the accession of Benignus.

(121) "Hic *heres* regni mei erit, hoc est. erit *post* me supremus Ecclesiae Hibernicae moderator. Et oraculum probavit eventus; nam puer ille postea ita doctrina et miraculis claruit, ut *omnium judicio dignus habitus sit*, qui magistro suo S. Patricio in archiepiscopatu Ardmachano et *primatu* Hiberniae *succederet;* quod munus, &c. Tripart. *L.* 1. *c.* 45.

(122) Probus (*L.* 2. *c.* 1.) makes St. Patrick say to Benignus; "Jam te fili meum *successorem* dignum esse sentio futurum." In the third Life (*cap.* 36.) the saint is introduced as saying of him; "Quia mei *heres* regni est." Tirechan has (*Pr. p.* 875); "Ipse est Benignus episcopus *successor* Patricii in Ecclesia Machiae." Jocelin is still more explicit (*cap.* 39.) where he writes; "Ipsum *successorum* ministerii sui sicut et fuit, fore *praedixit.* Idem namque Benignus in regimine pontificatus *primatusque* totius Hiberniae *successit* S. Patricio." This succeeding to the primacy as well as to the see, which is mentioned also in the Tripartite, is worth observation; for whereas Jocelin elsewhere (*cap.* 191) represents St. Patrick as retaining the primacy until the time of his death.

(123) As Jocelin lived at a later period than several of the chroniclers, who endeavoured to assign the precise time of St. Patrick's death, he took from them what he has (*cap.* 196.) about his having died in the year of our Lord 493, which he makes the same as the first year of the emperor Anastasius, whose reign

began in 491, and places in the pontificate of Pope Felix II. *alias* III. who, by the bye, died early in 492.

(124) *Not.* 85. to *Chap.* VI. (125) Above §. 2. *Not.* 12.

(126) Above §. 6. Colgan's evasion (*Tr. Th. p.* 217.) *viz.* that Kienan might have written that work before St. Patrick's death will not answer the description of what is called the *Life of a Saint.* In such tracts it is always presupposed that the person, whose Acts are given, has, after persevering unto the end, been removed to heaven. Were it certain that Mel of Ardagh wrote Memoirs or Acts of St. Patrick (See *Not.* 41.) it would follow that he also survived him, and consequently that the saint died prior to A. D. 488. Supposing even that he had not written such Memoirs, the very report of his having done so shows that he was considered as a survivor of St. Patrick. Usher saw into this difficulty, and accordingly added from himself (*Ind. Chron. ad A.* 488) to *S. Patricii* the words *ad huc superstitis.* Ware (*Writers*) acted in like manner.

§. XII. At present it remains only to inquire which was the precise year, in which our great saint departed this life. We have seen that some accounts had A. D. 458. (127) This date would agree very well with the ten years allowed in one document for the incumbency of Benignus, while it would take away some of the ten other years marked in the same for St. Patrick's own administration of Armagh, which was not founded before A. D. 454. But, as has been shown, (128) the document alluded to cannot in its present state be used as a guide to direct us. That date would leave only 26 years for the whole mission of St. Patrick, a space of time shorter than what we meet with in any authority worth mentioning. (129) Besides this objection, a much stronger one occurs founded on the very remarkable tradition, and which I find no reason for calling into question, that our saint died on a Wednesday. (130) Now in the year 458 the seventeenth of March fell on Monday. For the same reason we must reject the hypothesis of the Bollandists, who

assigned the death of St. Patrick to A. D. 460, (131) while in that year the 17th of March fell on Thursday. Nor can it be said, strictly speaking, that he died *about* 460, as there was no year, either before or after, near enough to it, with which that chronological criterion would agree. A much more probable supposition is, that he died about 472, the very year assinged in the Glastonian tablet referred to by Usher. (132) I say *about* 472, as the criterion now alluded to would suit not that year but 471. And if we admit that those, who allowed 40 years for the whole of St. Patrick's mission, supposed that it commenced in 431, (133) this computation would bring us straight to 471. It might also be granted that even reckoning the period of the mission from 432 to 471, it might, according to the mode of using round numbers, be said to have lasted 40 years, although in reality it would have been somewhat less than 39, whereas it had not begun as early as the 17th of March in the year 432. But a very strange objection arises against this hypothesis from what we have seen concerning the death of Benignus being assigned to A. D. 468. And, were we even to allow that the death of Benignus is placed rather too early, yet it can hardly be supposed that his accession to Armagh did not take place until A. D. 471, as thus there would remain only eleven years for the whole time of his incumbency and that of his successor Iarlath, who, as already observed, died in 482. Having now examined all the hypotheses worthy of consideration, I will venture to propose another, which is less liable to exceptions than any I have met with. I can scarcely call it a hypothesis, as I find it clearly laid down in a copy of the Annals of Innisfallen. This copy assigns the death of St. Patrick to the 432d year after the passion of our Lord, (134) a date, which exactly corresponds to A. D. 465, according to the system of Bede and others, who have affixed the passion to the year 33 of the Christian era.

By adopting this year as that of St. Patrick's death, full room will be found for the ten years allowed for his administration of Armagh, and we will have 23 years for the whole period of his mission, a number that comes near to the 35 of Jocelin. And, what is particularly to be remarked, the 17th of March fell in said year on Wednesday. (125) It will also be seen, that this date agrees better than any other with the sequel of our history. We may now, without resorting to conjecture, or tormenting ourselves with endeavouring to reconcile irreconcileable computations, safely state that our Apostle was called to heaven either at the age of 78 years or in his 78th year, as his birth occurred in 387, (136) and his death in 465.

(127) Above §. 2. (128) *Not.* 141 to *Chap.* VI.

(129) See *Not.* 113-114. The Glastonian nonsense about 8 years merits no consideration.

(130) See *Chap.* IV. §. 1.

(131) See *Chap.* IV. §. 2. The Bollandists, having laid down with Baronius and Petavius that our saint was 82 years old when he died, perceived that it would be absurd to follow them in their other supposition, *viz.* that he lived until 491. (See *Not.* 117.) Accordingly they looked out for an earlier period and guessed at A. D. 460. Yet they have been followed by Baillet, to whom alone reference is made in this date in *L'Art de verifier les dates, Tom.* 1. *p.* 96, at *St. Patrice.*

(132) *P.* 879. (133) Compare with *Not.* 113.

(134) "Quies Patricii 16 Cal. Aprilis anno 432°. a passione Domini." Annals of Innisfallen among Harris's Manuscripts in the library of the Royal Dublin Society.

(135) Usher (*p.* 882) argued very justly, in defence of his favourite year 493, against those who stood out for 490, 491, or 492, that in none of these years the 17th of March fell on Wednesday, as it did in 493. We find four years in a course of less than thirty, to which that criterion applied, *i. e.* four years marked with the Dominical letter *C. viz.* A. 465, 471, 482 and 493. The last could not, by any means, have been the year of

St. Patrick's death; nor could 482, as that was the year, in which Iarlath died.

(136) See *Chap.* IV. §. 4.

§. XIII. As soon as the news of the saint's death had spread throughout Ireland, the clergy flocked from all quarters to celebrate his funeral obsequies. (137) This they did with extraordinary pomp and great profusion of torches and lights, (138) insomuch that for a considerable time, during which the obsequies were continued both day and night, darkness was dispelled, and the whole time seemed one constant day. (139) Every bishop and priest, according as he arrived at Saul, naturally wished to celebrate the holy mysteries in commemoration of their apostle, and hence the funeral service must have been kept up for several days. As it consisted not only in the celebration of mass but likewise in Psalmody and chaunting of hymns, (140) which was continued during the night; (141) and as there were probably various commemorations, such as those of the third day, ninth day, &c. (142) celebrated on this occasion, it is not to be wondered at that this sort of uninterrupted day had left a strong recollection of it in Ireland. A strange turn has been given to this circumstance, by converting that artificial light into real day-light, without the intervention of any night whatsoever, throughout the district around Saul. This long day, they tell us, lasted for twelve ordinary days, (143) the length of time during which the obsequies were celebrated. (144) Others made it still longer; but it is evident that the whole statement was founded on a misconception. (145) It is said that a furious contest was very near breaking out, concerning the place in which St. Patrick's remains should be deposited, between the Ulidians and the inhabitants of the district, in which Armagh is situated. (146) To prevent bloodshed matters were providentially so managed, that his body was interred at Down; (147) although part of his reliques were

brought to Armagh. (148) It seems that, notwithstanding the general belief as to Down, there arose in course of time some doubts as to the particular spot, in which the body had been placed. (149) As to what is related of its having been found in the 12th century, this subject will be inquired into elsewhere.

(137) "Clerici enim Hiberniae confluebant ad celebrandas exequias Patricii undique." Fiech's hymn, *Stroph.* 31.

(138) Besides the lights used during the time of divine service, and those more or less numerous according to the rank of the persons, used in funeral processions (see Bingham *Book* XXIII. *ch.* 2.), a custom still prevalent in Catholic countries, it was considered an act of respect to keep lights around the corpse in the place (regularly the church) where it was deposited and watched until the time of burial. Eusebius tells us (*Vit. Const. L.* 4. *c.* 66.) that Constantine's body was surrounded with lights and watched for several days and nights. Hence came what we call *wakes.*

(139) In the hymn (*Stroph.* 29. 30) it is compared to the long day caused by the standing of the sun for Joshua against Gabaon.

(140) St. Jerome (*Epitaph. Fabiol. cap.* 4.) describing the funeral service for Fabiola, writes; "Sonabant Psalmi, et aurata templorum tecta reboans in sublime quatiebat Alleluia."

(141) St. Gregory of Nyssa (*Vit. Macrinae*) says, that the persons watching the body of his sister Macrina sang psalms during the whole night. To this singing by night during the obsequies of St. Patrick is probably to be referred what we find in Fiech's hymn (*Stroph.* 31. Colgan's translation); "Sonus *concentus superni reddebat* ipsos sopore irruente ubi humi decumbentes." By *concentus superni* we may understand the singing of psalms and hymns, it being a sort of celestial music. In Lynch's translation we have, instead of *consentus superni* the *musical instrument.* Could it be that instrumental music was allowed at the obsequies of our saint? This would form a singular exception to the practice of the church in those days; for, although the Jews in their watchings or wakes of the dead had that custom, (*Matth.* IX. 23.) yet among Christians no other than vocal music seems to have been allowed in their religious ceremonies until a

period much later than that we are now treating of. I know too little of the Irish language to be able to unravel that obscure passage; but, if any thing like a musical instrument be mentioned in it, I should think that it was either a bell (for the use of bells was very ancient in Ireland) or some sonorous instrument, such as the trumpet of the ancient Egyptian monks, by which the time for attending the service was announced. The effect of the sound or noise of this instrument would be to rouse people from their sleep, not to *bury them in sleep* as Lynch's translation runs. Probus, however, relates that on the first night, the obsequies being celebrated by Angels, the clergy, &c. suddenly fell asleep. "In prima autem nocte exequiarum ejus sancti Angeli excubias vigiliarum ibidem fuerunt, hymnorum atque psalmarum modulationes in omnibus complentes; quicumque vero ad vigilias primae noctis clerici vel laici venerant subito abdormierunt, et Angelis excubantibus locum dubant. In caeteris autem *noctibus* homines religiosi orantes, ac *psalmos canentes*, sacrum corpus ex more custodiebant." *L.* 2. *c.* 36. The Angels are mentioned also in the hymn, *Stroph.* 32. Whether the *concentus superni* as above, be connected with with them, is not clear from the text.

(142) See Bingham, *Book* XXIII. *ch.* 2. *sect.* 19.

(143) Probus *L.* 2. *c.* 34. Jocelin, *cap.* 193.

(144) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 105.

(145) According to the Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 106) some said, that it lasted for a whole year. This stuff was borrowed from the words of Fiech's hymn (*Stroph.* 28); "Spatio unius anni continuata lux erat." Lynch's translation has; "Till the year's end (from 17th March) continued the lights." The meaning of the author is very clear from the sequel. He attributes this continuation of light or lights to the celebration of the obsequies and the conflux of clergymen. As to his making it last for a year or great part of a year, it can be explained by supposing that various commemorations were held from time to time, which might have been repeated until they closed with the anniversary. That he did not mean *day-light* during that whole time, is evident from his saying (*Stroph.* 32), that Angels attended on the *first night* of the obsequies. Probus also mentions *nights* during this celebration (see *Not.* 141.); and hence I suspect that what occurs (*L.* 2. *c.* 31.) about the miraculous long day is an interpolation, especially as it is rather misplaced.

(146) Probus *L.* 2. *c.* 39. Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 107. Third Life, *cap.* 91. Jocelin, *cap.* 194. Ulidia or *Ullagh*, whence the modern name *Ulster*, comprehended only a part of this province. It consisted chiefly, of, at least, a great part of the now county of Down.

(147) Third Life, *cap.* 88. Fourth, *cap.* 107. Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 108. Yet (*ib. c.* 101) it mentions Saul as the place, where St. Patrick was to be interred. Jocelin, *cap.* 196, and Usher's Tripartite (*Pr. p.* 173.) have Down. More authorities will be found in Usher (*p.* 888, *seqq.*) and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 259, *seqq.*) To these writers I refer those, who may wish to see a complete refutation of the Glastonian scribblers, who pretended that our saint died and was buried at Glastonbury. (See also above §. 11. and Harris, *Bishops, p.* 23.

(148) The *Lipsana*, or reliques of Patrick Senior, are mentioned in some old Calendars (*Tr. Th. p.* 262.) as being at Armagh. Patrick senior was no other than the great St. Patrick. This will help us to explain the expression of St. Bernard (*Vid. S. Mal. cap.* 7.); "In qua (Ardmacha) et vivus praefuit et *mortuus requiescit*." Usher (*p.* 888) quotes to the same purpose an unpublished Life of St. Patrick.

(149) Tirechan and Nennius say that the place, in which St. Patrick's remains lie, is unknown. (See *Chap.* IV. §. 1.) Whatever truth there may be in this assertion, it need not be understood with regard to the place in general; such as that his body was somewhere in Down; but ought to be considered relatively to the particular spot. Nor does the conformity with Moses require any more. For, although the few feet of ground that contained the body of Moses, were not known, yet the place in general was, being *a valley in the land of Moab over against Bethpoer.* (*Deuter.* XXXIV. 6.) The Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 108) and Jocelin *cap.* 196.) state that St. Patrick's body was laid in a very deep pit, to prevent its being stolen. To guard against the commission of such a theft at any time, it might have been thought proper to conceal the spot as much as possible. We may also suppose that the accumulation of graves around that of the saint might, in a long lapse of time, have given occasion to doubt, which was his peculiar one. Similar doubts have been started concerning the burying places of several eminent saints.

§. XIV. It will not be expected that I should waste my time with giving an account of the so called Patrick's Purgatory of Lough Dearg (Donegall), or examining if there could have been any foundation for attributing it to our Apostle. It is never mentioned in any of his Lives; (150) nor was it, I believe, heard of until the eleventh century, the period at which the Canons Regular of St. Augustin first appeared. (151) For it was to persons of that Order, as the story goes, that St. Patrick confided the care of that cavern of wonders. (152) Now there were no such persons in the island, in which it is situated, nor in that of St. Davoc in the same lake, (153) until, I dare say, about the beginning of the 12th century. This purgatory, or purging place (154) of Lough Dearg was set up against another Patrick's Purgatory, *viz.* that of Croagh-Patrick, mentioned by Jocelin, which however ill founded the vulgar opinion concerning it, was less objectionable. (155) Some writers have said that it got the name of Patrick's Purgatory from an abbot Patrick, that lived in the ninth century; (156) but neither were there Canons Regular of St. Augustin at that time; nor were such abridged modes of atoning to the Almighty for the sins of a whole life then thought of. It was demolished in the year 1497 by order of the Pope, although it has since been in some manner restored. No mention of it is allowed in any part of the Church service. (157)

(150) Colgan has published (*Tr. Th. p.* 285) a little tract, which he says he found in a *MS.* placed after the end of the Tripartite, and therefore attributes to the author of that work. In it this purgatory is spoken of together with its privileges, &c. But it was not written by that author, as, to omit other reasons, plainly appears from the mention of Canons of St. Augustin, a description of persons unknown when he lived. It is a transcript from the foolish *Narrative* of the monk Henry of Salterey (Huntingdonshire), which also has been published by Colgan (*ib. p.* 273.

seqq.) This Henry lived in the 12th century, and has related what he heard from another English monk, Gilbert of Lud, concerning that cavern, and chiefly the wonderful things that happened to Owen, an Irish soldier, who had the courage to enter it, and which Gilbert said he had been informed of by Owen himself. These visions of Owen, as they have been called, were thence copied by Matthew Paris, and others. See more *ap* Colgan (*loc. cit.*) and Usher (*p.* 897. *seqq.*). The mighty Dr. Ledwich says (*Antiq. p.* 446.) that the story was trumped up to make the Irish more obedient and submissive; pray, to whom?

(151) See *Not.* 133. to *Chap.* IV.

(152) In the Narrative (see *Not.* 150.) we read; "Sanctum vero Patricium Dominus in locum desertum adduxit, et unam fossam rotundam intrinsecus obscuram ibidem et ostendit, dicens; "*Quisquis veraciter poenitens, vera fide armatus, fossam eandem ingressus, unius diei ac noctis moram in ea faceret, ab omnibus purgaretur totius vitae suae peccatis, sed et per illam transiens non solum visurus esset tormenta malorum, verum etiam, si in fide constanter egisset, gaudia beatorum.*" Sicque ab oculis ejus Domino disparente, spirituali jucunditate repletus est B. Patricius, tam pro Domini sui apparitione, quam pro fossae illius ostensione, per quam sperabat populum aberrore conversurum: statimque in eodem loco ecclesiam construxit, et *B. Patris Augustini Canonicos vitam apostolicam sectantes in ea constituit;* fossam autem praedictam, quae in coemiteris est extra frontem ecclesiae orientalem, muro circumdedit, et januas serasque apposuit, ne quis eam ausu temerario, et *sine licentia*, ingredi praesumeret, clavem vero custodiendam commendavit *Priori ecclesiae ejusdem*—et quoniam homo a peccatis purgetur, locus ille *Purgatorium S. Patricii* nominatur." This trash is to be found, nearly *verbatim*, in the little tract mentioned above (*Not.* 150.).

(153) Concerning St. Davoc's island and monastery see Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. His account of it is, however, rather confused.

(154) Poor Harris thought, that what is called *Patrick's Purgatory* was relative to the state of souls after death, and accordingly, having ventured on controversy, argues (*Bishops, p.* 25.) against praying for the dead from the circumstance of *that purgatory* being fabulous. He was not indeed the only person, that argued thus badly. But they might have easily discovered

that it got said name from the supposition, that persons, who duly prepared spent some time there, were *purged* or cleansed from their sins while *living*. (See *Not.* 152.) As to praying for the dead, nothing can be more certain, as will be seen elsewhere, than that it was practised in Ireland ever since the days of St. Patrick.

(155) Jocelin writes (*cap.* 172.); "In hujus (Croagh-patrick) montis cacumine jejunare ac vigilare consuescunt plurimi spinantes se postea nunquam intraturos portas inferni, quia hoc impetratum a Domine existimant meritis ac precibus S. Patricii. Referunt etiam nonnulli, qui pernoctaverant ibi, se tormenta gravissima fuisse perpessos, quibus se *purgatos a peccatis* putant, unde et quidam illorum locum illum *Purgatorium S. Patricii* vocant." Why then should not the Canons Regular have another at Lough Dearg?

(156) See Usher *p.* 897. It was so little known even in the times of Henry of Salterey, that, as he relates, an Irish abbot, whom he consulted, told him he had never heard any thing about it.

(157) This fable had got into a Roman breviary printed in the year 1522. On this being taken notice of, orders were immediately issued, that it should not appear in any future edition, and accordingly it is not to be met with either in the Roman or any other breviary published since that year. Strange that Rothe and Colgan, who must have been aware of this and other circumstances, could have attempted a vindication of it. Ledwich, amidst other stuff concerning this Purgatory, says that Pope Benedict XIV. preached a sermon on it. This is not true. That sermon was preached not by Benedict XIV. but by Benedict XIII. and not when Pope, but when archbishop of Benevento. See *Hibernia Dominicana, p.* 5. the very page, to which that faithful antiquary refers, *p.* 447.

§. xv. Besides the Confession and the Epistle against Coroticus some other tracts have been attributed to St. Patrick. But with the exception of, at least, some of the Canons already spoken of, (158) and of the treatise *De Abusionibus Seculi*, it is now generally agreed, that such of them as are still extant were not written by him. This treatise has

been quoted as a work of our saint by writers of the 8th or 9th century. As, however, the style is quite different from that of the Confession, &c. it has been conjectured that in its present state it is only a translation from the Irish, in which language St. Patrick might have composed it. (159) A collection of Sermons pronounced by him is said to have existed; but none of them are now to be found. (160) A monastic rule is also mentioned; and it is not improbable that he drew up one similar to those, which he had observed himself at Tours and in Lerins. (161) Tracts like these now touched upon would agree very well with what we know concerning the occupations and proceedings of our Apostle; not so a large historico-political work foolishly ascribed to him by some of our antiquaries, which they call *Seanchas More* or the *Great Antiquity*. They tell us it was compiled in the year 439, and that St. Patrick was assisted in this mighty undertaking by two holy bishops, one of whom was Benignus, three kings, and three antiquaries, (162) who, according to this notable history, formed the famous *Committee of Nine*, appointed for this purpose by the senate called the *Fes* of Temor or Tarah. (163) So then St. Patrick and other ecclesiastics would have been members of the national assembly of Ireland, and that at a time when the far greatest part of the persons entitled to sit in it were Pagans. Would king Leogaire, who was never a Christian, (164) have allowed a place in that meeting to a foreigner, or, what would be still more strange, recognized his authority? And how could Benignus have been a bishop in 439, or even a senator, and chosen on a committee? In that year St. Patrick was better employed, preaching in Connaught, than in attending senates. The mixture of ecclesiastics with laymen in the states-general of nations was quite unknown in St. Patrick's days. What has become of the *Seanchas More*, is uncertain. (165) As to some other writ-

ings under the name of our saint, I refer the reader to those who have expressly treated of these subjects. (166)

(158) Above §. 3.

(159) See Ware, *Opusc. S. Pat. &c. p.* 139. and compare with Tillemont, *Mem. &c. Tom.* XVI. *p.* 785.

(160) Stanihurst (*Vit. S. Patr. L.* 2.) drew up a flowery sermon in St. Patrick's name, which Messingham, although he doubted of its genuineness, honoured with republication in his *Florilegium.*

(161) See *Chap.* IV. §. 9. 12.

(162) Colgan has (*Tr. Th. p.* 214); "Ad annum 438 (439) tradunt quatuor Magistri; *Anno Christi* 438 *et regis Leogarii decimo, vetustis codicibus aliisque antiquis Hiberniae monumentis undique conquisitis, et ad unum locum congregatis, Hiberniae Antiquitates et Sanctiones Legales S. Patricii authoritate repurgatae et conscriptae sunt.* Authores, quorum opera illud opus congestum fuit, Leogarius, Corcus, et Darius, tres reges; Patricius, Benignus, et Carnechus, tres sancti episcopi; Rossius, Dubthacus, et Fergussius, tres antiquarii." Colgan says that the second part of this compilation, the *Legal Sanctions*, was probably the same as the Collection of Canons, *Canoin Phadruic*, mentioned by Jocelin, *cap.* 185. Thus St. Patrick would not have meddled with state matters; but the contrivers of that story meant somewhat more than mere ecclesiastical regulations.

(163) See Keating, *Book* 2d, and O'Conor's *Dissertations on the History of Ireland, Dissert.* 1. *Sect.* 15.

(164) *Chap.* v. §. 6. O'Conor, whom I was really surprised to find abetting this silly story, says that Leogaire had been a Christian but apostatized. I wish he had told us at what time he became one.

(165) Nicholson, *Ir. Hist. Libr. ch.* 2. Keating derives from it the Psalter of Cashel, the Book of Armagh, &c. &c.

(166) Ware (*Opusc. S.P.*); *Idem* and Harris (*Irish Writers*); Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 214 *seqq.* &c. &c.

CHAPTER VIII.

Benignus appointed successor to St. Patrick—Preached the Gospel in those tracts not visited by St. Patrick—Sends for Iarlath—Death of St. Benignus—Death of Isserninus bishop of Kilcullen—St. Brigid received the veil from Maccaleus—Her parentage—Place of her birth—Place where she received the veil—Visits Teffia—Goes with Erc bishop of Slane into Munster—Goes to the plain of Cliach, county Limerick—Goes to South Leinster—Goes into Connaught and resides a while in county Roscommon—Parentage and birth place of St. Iarlath—Death of King Leogaire and accession of Olioll Molt—Death of Olioll—Christian princes in Ireland at this period—Bishops Ailbe and Declan—Conference at Magh-Femyn—Synod of Cashel—Angus king of Munster grants the Island of Arran to Enda, on which he builds a monastery—St. Ailbe's great reputation—Restrained by king Angus from leaving his diocese—Several ecclesiastical schools erected—Several nunneries established—Foundation of St. Brigid's great nunnery of Kildare—Conlaeth first bishop of Kildare—Natfroich the spiritual companion of St. Brigid—Bishops contemporary with St. Brigid—Brigid or the abbesses of Kildare had no jurisdiction over the abbots or bishops—Cormac succeeds Iarlath in the See of Armagh—Cormac bishop of Trim—Luman first bishop of Trim—Death of several bishops—Bishop Cerban of Feart-Cerban near Tarah—Dubhtach or Duach successor of Cormac in the See of Armagh—Aengus Mac Nisse first bishop of Connor—Cailan abbot of Antrim—Canoc or Conoc

founder of the monastery of Gallen—Brothers of Canoc—St. Daboec—Fortchern bishop of Trim—Churches of Kill-fortchern and Kilconnel—St. Fredolinus the traveller.

SECT. I.

THE see of Armagh did not remain long vacant. All those, who were concerned in appointing a successor to St. Patrick, were unanimous in the choice of Benignus; (1) and, accordingly his accession took place long before the end of the year 465, in which the saint died. We have already seen how, when young, he became a disciple of our apostle. (2) It is related in his Acts that, when he became qualified to preach the Gospel, he was employed in various parts of Ireland, (3) and particularly in places which St. Patrick had not visited in person. West Munster (Kerry) and some parts of the now county of Clare, districts, which, as already observed, (4) were not honoured with St. Patrick's presence, are particularly specified; and he has been considered as the apostle of those tracts, although then only a priest. (5) After his promotion to Armagh I find nothing remarkable recorded concerning his transactions. Several disciples of his are spoken of, and among them are some who have been called disciples of St. Patrick. (6) How long he governed Armagh is a subject involved in some doubt. If he died A. D. 468, (7) we cannot allow more than three years and some months for his incumbency; but could it be proved that it lasted ten years, (8) his death should be assigned to 475. Were it not that our Annalists agree in assigning his death to A. D. 468, (9) I would be much inclined to think that it was somewhat later; because the Tripartite mentions his having governed for *several* years, (10) an expression which, if founded on truth, would imply more than three or four years. In this

case we might suppose that the 18 or perhaps only 17 full years, allowed by some writers for Iarlath his successor down to A. D. 482, ought to be divided between them both. Yet I allow we should have some better argument than a mere expression of the Tripartite, and perhaps mistranslated, to induce us to depart from the date given by the Annalists. His having resigned his see some years before his death is a mere Glastonbury story, and directly opposite to the express testimony of his own Acts, in which we read that, finding his end approaching, he sent for Iarlath, and received from him the Lord's body; and that after he was immediately succeeded by him. (11) St. Benignus died on the 9th of November and was buried at Armagh. (12)

(1) See *Chap.* VII. §. XI. (2) *Chap.* V. §. 4.

(3) Among the parts of Ireland, through which he accompanied St. Patrick, Connaught is particularly mentioned. It will not be denied, that, while a scholar, he was with the saint in that province; but he was probably too young to be a preacher until after they left it, *viz.* about the beginning of A. D. 442 (See *ch.* V. §. 13.) Another Benignus, brother of Cethecus and a bishop, is spoken of as having been employed in Connaught; (Tripart *L.* 2. *c.* 52.) if there was such a person, he must not be confounded with the Benignus of Armagh.

(4) *Chap.* VI. §. 8.

(5) Sanctus autem Patricius in persona propria non visit populos Iarmomoniae, seu *Occidentalis Momoniae*, sed provinciam illam commisit S. Benigno; qui, cum septem aliis sociis S. Patricii discipulis comitantibus et collaborantibus, eos continuis verbi Dei praedicationibus, signis, et virtutibus multis, e tenebris idololatriae ad lucem fidei perduxit, et salutaribus undis Ecclesiae adunivit. Quem proinde ut *Apostolum* cultu et obsequiis ex voto devote venerantur. Eadem etiam obsequia et officia praestare debent Corcamorogii, (*Corcomroe* in Clare) quos in fide Christi sedulo instructos, et baptizatos, Christi aggregavit ovili." *Vit. S. Benigni, cap.* 6. (*Tr. Th. p.* 203.)

(6) *Ex. c.* Buadmel, and Carellus, whom the Tripartite

(L. 2. c. 33) makes bishop at Tamnach, somewhere in the county of Sligo.

(7) See *Chap.* VII. §. XI.

(8) Usher *(p. 875)* has ten years for the incumbency of Benignus, which he counts from A. D. 455 (See *Not.* 141 to *Ch.* VI.) In consequence of this calculation he was forced to reckon 13 years from the accession of Benignus until his death, which, as he observes *(p. 877)* some of our Annals place in 468. Thus then we should suppose, what Usher, by the bye, does not assert, that Benignus resigned his see three years before his death (see *Ind. Chron.* ad A. 465). But there is no foundation for this story of the resignation of Benignus, and accordingly Usher's computation cannot be reconciled with his own authorities. For, if ten years were the precise time of that incumbency, he should either have made them begin in 458 or end in 465. Still more perplexed are the calculations of the Bollandists, who also allow ten years for the episcopacy of Benignus, which they begin in 470 and terminate in 480. Having laid down that St. Patrick died in 460, they make him be succeeded by the pretended Sen-Patrick, of whom enough has been said already (*Chap.* VII. §. 2.) Sen-Patrick, according to them, died at Glastonbury in 470, and here they bring in Benignus. This sort of conjectural chronology is quite inconsistent with the date, that must be allowed for St. Patrick's death (*Chap.* VII. §. 12), and with the well authenticated fact that Benignus was his *immediate* successor. Besides it would leave only two years for the incumbency of Iarlath, who died in 482.

(9) To the Annals of Ulster and the 4 Masters referred to above (*Not.* 118 to *Chap.* VII.) add those of Innisfallen.

(10) *L. 1. c. 45.*

(11) "Cum vir Dei (Benignus) videret tempus suae resolutionis instare, curat accersiri S. Hierlatium filium Trieni—et ex ejus manu arrham et pignus aeternae beatitudinis corpus Domini devotissime sumit, et se ad vitae terminum et Patriae parat introitum. Fuit autem hic S. Hierlatius, qui ipsi in sede Ardmachana et primatu Hiberniae *immediate successit.*" *Vit. S. Benigni, cap.* 15. The Glastonians, in the same manner as they pretended to have had St. Patrick among them, took to themselves also his disciple Benignus, and, to mend the matter, assigned his arrival at Glastonbury to A. D. 460. Then it was added that he was buried at a

place called Ferlingmer, and an epitaph was made out for him under the name of *Beona*. (See Usher *p.* 876, *seqq.*) We had persons enough of that name, (Colgan, *AA. SS. p.* 90.) one of whom they might have chosen for themselves without stealing St. Benignus of Armagh. Hence the story of the resignation of Benignus, which Ware has assigned to A. D. 465, the very year of his appointment. (See *Chap.* VI. *Not.* 145.) O'Flaherty in a passage of his *Ogygia Christiana*, part of which has been already quoted (*ib. Not.* 146.) calculates that Benignus, whose accession he affixed to A. D. 458, resigned his see six years after, viz. in 464. Thus he speculated to make room for the 18 following years of Iarlath's incumbency.

(12) *Pr. p.* 877. How a story about Benignus having died at Rome got into the Annals of Innisfallen, I cannot discover.

§. II. Isserninus, bishop of Kilcullen, (13) did not long survive his friend Benignus, as he died in the year 469. (14) Who was his immediate successor in that place I cannot venture to say, for it is scarcely credible that Mactaleus, who was bishop there in the sixth century, (15) could have been the person. It is very probable, that he was not succeeded there *immediately* by any one, in the same manner as we do not know of any successor of his colleague Auxilius (16) at Killossy. It is not to be supposed, that in those early times permanent sees were so generally established, that a bishop should be regularly appointed to a place, in which a former one had resided. At the time of Isserninus' death there were, at least, two bishops stationed in parts of Leinster not far remote from the district of Kilcullen, *viz.* Fiech and Maccaleus, (17) so that there was no necessity for appointing another to it, as the episcopal duties could have been performed by either of those prelates. Maccaleus was the bishop, from whom St. Brigid received the veil; and, as this remarkable circumstance occurred about the time we are now treating of, it will not be amiss to touch upon, in this place, the early part of the history of that extraordinary

virgin. (18) She was of an illustrious family of Leinster. Her father Dubtach was of royal blood, being of the race of Ethee or Eochad brother of the celebrated (19) Con surnamed *Kedchathath*, (of the hundred battles). Her mother Brocessa or Brotseach was of the noble house of *Dal-Concobhair* (O'Connor), in the southern part of the territory of the Bregii. (20) They were both Christians, according to the most creditable account; (21) for, no attention is due to what we find in two or three of the so called Lives of St. Brigid concerning her mother having been a concubine, whom, when pregnant, the wife of Dubtach obliged him to dismiss, and of her having been purchased by a pagan poet or a Magus, and how, in consequence of his taking her to Ulster, she was there delivered of the saint. (22) This romance-like narrative cannot agree with the circumstance that the parents of the saint were Christians, I mean such strict Christians as were then in Ireland, nor with the rank of her mother's family and her being every where else spoken of as the wife of Dubtach. (23) St. Brigid was born at Fochard (Faugher) about two miles to the North of Dundalk, and in a district, which was formerly considered as part of Ulster. (24) Whether her coming into the world in that place was owing to her parents having had a residence there, or to their being on a visit at some friend's house, it is immaterial to inquire. Various years have been assigned for her birth; but, on comparing the best authorities it appears that it must have been in some year between A. D. 451 and 458, both included. Meanwhile we may follow Usher's computation, which affixes it to 453. (25) According to this date she was twelve years old when St. Patrick died, (26) and might have been known to him, in consequence of her singular sanctity having become conspicuous at a very early age, joined with her being of an illustrious family. But she could not have been a professed nun at that time, nor have already

founded a religious establishment. (27) In the most consistent and authentic accounts of both saints, St. Brigid does not appear as a consecrated virgin during the life time of St. Patrick. (28) Accordingly we cannot admit what is said of her interviews, when Abbess of a monastery, with our Apostle, nor of her having, at his request, woven the shroud, in which his body was after his death enveloped. (29)

(13) Chap. VI. §. 5. (14) Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(15) *Not.* 35 to *Chap.* VII. (16) See *Chap.* VII. §. 3.

(17) See *Chap.* VII. §. 5.

(18) Colgan has published in the Trias Thaumaturga six tracts, which he calls Lives, concerning St. Brigid. The first is an Irish poem celebrating her virtues and miracles, ascribed in an anonymous preface to St. Brogan of Rostuire in Ossory near Sliabh-Bladhma (*Slieve-bloom*), who had been requested by Ultan of Ardbraccan to compose it, and therefore could not have written it about A. D. 526, as Colgan thought, and as Harris, in opposition to Ware, has placed it. For Ultan lived until the year 657 (Usher, *Ind. Chron.*); and accordingly Ware was more correct in reckoning Brogan among the writers of the seventh century. The second is the celebrated work of Cogitosus, who could not have lived in the sixth century, as Colgan and others imagined. For in his prologue he speaks not only of a succession of bishops of Kildare after Conlaeth, who died in 519, and which succession is mentioned in terms indicating a long lapse of time; but likewise represents the bishop of that see as the chief of the Leinster prelates, which he certainly was not until after that century. (See Usher, *p.* 965.) His description also of the church of Kildare plainly refers to a time much later than that period. Yet we cannot place him lower down than about the beginning of the ninth century or some time before the devastation of Kildare by the Danes, which began in the year 835 (836). (See *Tr. Th. p.* 629.) For it can scarcely be doubted, that it was about that time that the remains of St. Brigid were removed to Down, then a safe place, to guard them against the fury of those heathens. (See *ib. p.* 565.) Now these holy remains were at Kildare when Cogitosus wrote his book. (See *cap.* 35.) And that he lived before the said devasta-

tion is evident, first, from his not making, in his minute description of the church (*ib.*) the least allusion to its having been ever destroyed, or to the spoliation of the shrines of St. Brigid and Conlaeth, which he represents as very splendid and rich; secondly, from his stating that the city of Kildare and its suburbs were a place of refuge, in which there could not be the least apprehension of any hostile attack; "*Nullus carnalis adversarius, nec concursus timetur hostium;*" (*cap.* 36.) Cogitosus could not have written in this manner after the year 836, nor even after 831, (832) in which year Kildare was plundered by Kellach son of Bran. (*Tr. Th. p.* 629.) That mighty critic Dr. Ledwich says, (*Antiq. p.* 166) that the work of Cogitosus is *supposititious*, and why? Because it was not written in the sixth century! But surely it was written some time or another, and certainly by a man of the name of *Cogitosus*, who would not have been heard of but for this work, in which he has left us his name. The poor Doctor does not understand the very terms of the art of criticism. What he meant to assert seems to be that it was written in the 12th century, on account of what is said of the architecture of the church, in which he supposed that stone building was implied. Could not there be architecture without stone? Has he heard of such a country as Germany, or of the many fine houses there built without either stone or brick? He thought that the word, *parietes* used by Cogitosus, (*cap.* 35) should be understood of stone. How then would he understand the *parietes tabulati*, of the same writer and in the same chapter? The fact is that Cogitosus has not a word about stone in his description of the church. The book itself is rather a panegyrical discourse on St. Brigid than a regular Life. The third treatise is attributed by Colgan to Ultan of Ardbraccan, who is known to have written something concerning St. Brigid. (See Ware at *Ultan* and Harris, *Writers, p.* 30.) But neither he nor any writer of the 7th century could have recorded the many strange fables, with which it is crammed. Besides, it differs from the two former tracts in some material points. It is a hodge-podge made up at a late period, in which it is difficult to pick out any truth from amidst a heap of rubbish. The fourth, which is divided into two books, was written, at a period, when it was universally believed that St. Brigid's remains were at Down, and, I dare say, some time in the 10th or 11th century. Colgan suspects it is the same as the work

on St. Brigid said to have been written by one Animosus, who might have flourished late in the tenth. (See *Tr. Th. p.* 563, and Harris at *Animosus.*) The fifth treatise or Life is, making allowance for many stories, tolerably well written. The author Laurence of Durham, who lived in the 12th century. The sixth is a rather long Latin poem, to which is prefixed a prologue beginning with "*Finibus occiduis,*" &c. Colgan got both the prologue and the Life from the Benedictine library of Monte Cassino, in which it was marked as written by one Chilien a monk of Inniskeltra (in Lough Derg, river Shannon). And yet elsewhere (*Tr. Th. p.* 255.) he ascribes the prologue to Donatus an Irisman, who was bishop of Firole in Tuscany in the ninth century. Harris has followed this distinction (*Writers* at *Donat*). This Chilien, whether author of both (as Colgan has *ib. p.* 597) or not, was, according to a conjecture of his, the same as Coelan of Inniskeltra, who seems to have flourished in the eighth century, and not the seventh to which Harris assigns him (at *Chaelien*). Bollandus thought (*ad* 1. *Febr. S. Brigida Comm. pr.* §. 2.) that they were different persons. Be this as it may, if Chilien lived in the eighth century, I believe it was in the latter part of it. His calling St. Brigid's mother a *countess* smells of a late period. On the whole I suspect, that the author was later than even the eighth century. But it is not worth while to enter into a further discussion concerning him.

(19) *Tr. Th. p.* 613.

(20) Colgan (*Tr. Th. ib.*) has from an Irish life of St. Brigid; "Brotseac filia Dallbronacii, filii Aidi Memair de Dalconchabhuir ex australi Bregiorum regione fuit ejus mater." (Concerning the district of the Bregii see *Not.* 14 to *Chap.* v.) And the Scholiast to a hymn in honour of St. Brigid, beginning, *Audite Virginis laudes*, says that it was composed, perhaps by Ultan of Ardbraccan, "*as he was of Dalconchabuir, of which family was also the mother of St. Brigid Brotseach daughter of Dallbronac.* (See Colgan *loc-cit.*)

(21) Cogitosus (*cap.* 1.) writes; "Sancta itaque Brigida, quam Deus praescivit ad suam imaginem et praedestinavit, a *Christianis* nobilibusque parentibus, de bona ac prudentissima Etech prosapia, in Scotia orta, patre Dubtacho et matre Brocessa genita."

(22) These stories are given in the third and fourth Lives, which

in very great part are mere transcripts of each other, agreeing, word for word, in very many passages. The former bears every appearance of being an abridgment of the later. Be this as it may, they form but one authority. And as to the Life called the fifth, whatever it has on these subjects was evidently taken from one or other of them. Amidst other nonsense contained in these tracts a Magus is introduced foretelling the future sanctity of the child, while she was still in her mother's womb.

(23) Besides what we have seen (*Not.* 20 and 21), it may be observed, that in the prologue to the sixth life Dubtach is represented as a noble pious man, and still more noble through his spouse and their holy offspring;

Dubtachus ejus erat genitor cognomine dictus;
Clarus homo meritis, clarus et a proavis;
Nobilis atque humilis, mitis, pietatos repletus;
Nobilior PROPRIA CONJUGE, *prole pia.*

I should probably not have troubled the reader with any remarks on those stories, and passed them by, as Usher, Ware, and others have done, had not Harris, striving to appear more learned than Ware, foisted them into his account of the saint. (*Writers* at *Brigid.*

(24) The fourth Life has (*L.* 1. *c.* 6.); "Villa illa, in qua sancta Brigida nata est, *Fochart Muirthemne* vocatur; quae est in provincia *Ultorum,* scilicet in regione quae dicitur *Conaille Muirthemne.*" Usher refers to this passage (*p.* 627). St. Bernard writes (*Vita S. Mal. cap.* 13.); Venerunt aliquando tres episcopi in villam Fochart, quem dicunt locum nativitatis Brigidae virginis."

(25) *Ind. Chron.* Colgan considers (*Tr. Th. p.* 620) Usher's opinion as the most probable. The Bollandists, viz. Henschenius and Papebrochius, assign (at 17 *Mart. p.* 533) St. Brigid's birth to A. D. 436 or 437, without, as Tillemont observes, any sufficient proof. They found themselves obliged to throw out this conjecture in consequence of their supposing that St. Brigid had interviews with St. Patrick, and that he had requested her to weave a shroud for him, which circumstance they assigned to A. D. 458, to make it agree with their hypothesis concerning St. Patrick's death in 460. Their predecessor, Bollandus, who admitted at (*S. Brigid,* 1 Feb.) these circumstances relative to the friendship between the two

saints, was not, however, under the necessity of antedating the birth of St. Brigid, whereas he supposed with Usher, that St. Patrick did not die until the year 493. Now the successors of Bollandus, when they rejected this date, should have rejected also what has been said about the shroud, &c. and thus would not have been reduced to assign, in opposition to the best authorities, her birth to the time above mentioned, and her death to 506 or 517.

(26) It is stated in the Annals of Roscrea, quoted by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 620.) that St. Brigid was born on the 8th day of the moon of February. This was, in the year 453, the 4th of March, as the Golden number was in that year XVII. Reckoning from that day to the 17th of March 465, we have somewhat more than 12 years.

(27) The lowest age, which I find to have been allowed in those times in any part of the Church for taking the veil, was that of 16 or 17 years. (St. Basil, *Ep. Canonica. Can.* 18.) The African canons fixed it at 25; and this regulation became very general in the Western church. Yet even in the countries, where it was received, it might have been dispensed with in certain cases. (See Gibert, *Corp. J. Can. Tom.* II. *p.* 410).

(28) The Tripartite, however minute in every thing relative to St. Patrick, makes mention of St. Brigid only once, where it relates (*L.* 3. *c.* 4.) that, when listening, together with a vast number of people, to a sermon of his, she fell asleep and had a vision relative to the then state of the Irish church and to its future vicissitudes, as expounded by St. Patrick, who knowing that she had a vision desired her, after she awoke, to tell what she saw. She said that at first she saw a herd of white oxen amidst white crops, then spotted ones of various colours, after which appeared black and dark-coloured oxen. These were succeeded by sheep and swine, wolves and dogs jarring with each other. (See also Jocelin, *cap.* 95.) In this narrative there is nothing repugnant to the ways of the Almighty, who has been often pleased to impart to little ones secrets and gifts, which he withheld from the learned and wise of this world. It was thus that while the chief priests and Scribes remained in their infidelity, the children cryed out, *Hosanna to the Son of David*, through a divine impulse, as appears from our Saviour's answer to those wiseacres; "*And they said to him; hearest thou what these say? Jesus replied; Yes: have you never*

read, that out of the mouth of infants and sucking babes thou hast perfected praise? *Matth.* xxi. 16. St. Brigid might have been at that time ten or eleven years old, an age fully sufficient to render her in the hands of God, an instrument fit for displaying the wonderful effects of his grace and his knowledge of all things. If in what is called the order of nature we find so many children of extraordinary precocity in learning, so many *Enfans celèbres*, what may we not expect from the omnipotence of God in the order of grace?

(29) This circumstance is mentioned in her third Life, (*cap.* 60.) and in the fourth (*L.* 2. *c.* 30.). The sixth Life also has it (*cap.* 46.); but it is omitted in the fifth. Neither Cogitosus, nor the author of the first Life, has a word about it; and, what is very remarkable, they never once mention St. Patrick, notwithstanding the care, with which they collected whatever could redound to the honour of St. Brigid. Now, had she had those frequent interviews, or kept up a correspondence with him, or attended him at his death, &c. is it possible that those writers, who are evidently her most ancient biographers, would have been quite silent on such material points? Next we have the Lives of St. Patrick, in none of which, except Jocelin's (*cap.* 188, *seqq.*) and the fourth (*cap.* 92, *seqq.*) which may be considered as an abridgment of Jocelin, is there even an allusion to that history of the shroud? We have already seen (*Chap.* VII. §. 9. 13.) with what minuteness Fiech's hymn, the Scholiast, Probus, the Tripartite, and the third Life give an account of the last days of St. Patrick, his death, obsequies, &c. They specify the name of the bishop, who attended him, although otherwise scarcely known. Strange indeed would be their omitting to mention so celebrated a saint as St. Brigid, had she attended with the shroud at his exit. Nor with the exception of one solitary instance (See *Not. prec.*) does her name ever occur in these Lives of our Apostle. Had those circumstances, which have been reported by later writers concerning her transactions with St. Patrick, really occurred, it is impossible that they could have been overlooked by those authors, who lived nearer to their times. Perhaps she wove a pall or some sepulchral ornament to be spread over his grave, and hence might have arisen the idea, that she had done so during his life time. From what has been hitherto observed it follows also, that St. Patrick did not live nearly

as late as A. D. 493. St. Brigid's reputation was spread far and wide before that time. In her exertions for forming congregations of holy virgins and establishments for them, which coincided so well with the views of our Apostle; she would and should have acted under his guidance, were he alive. Accordingly there would have been frequent communications between them, concerning which the ancient writers could not have been totally silent. Nor can their silence be accounted for in any other manner than that St. Brigid was still a child when St. Patrick took his leave of this world. (Compare with *Chap.* VII. §. 11.)

§. III. St. Brigid received a good education, (30) and to singular modesty and decency of manners united an extraordinary degree of charity towards the poor. (31) Instances are related of the interposition of Providence in replenishing the store, which she applied to her benevolent purposes. When arrived at a proper age, her parents were on the point of getting her settled in the married state; but she announced her determination to remain a virgin, to which, as we find nothing to the contrary, we may suppose they willingly assented. (32) She then applied to the holy bishop Maccaille or Maccaleus, (33) who, being well assured of her good disposition, admitted her into the number of sacred virgins by covering her with a white cloak and placing a white cloth or veil over her head. (34) If we are to believe Tirechan, Maccaille was then at Usny hill (Westmeath); (35) which place, although not his usual residence, was probably comprized within his district. (36) Hence it is not to be inferred, that her father resided in the province anciently called Meath; for he is constantly spoken of as a Leinster man, and seems to have lived not far from where she afterwards established her monastery of Kildare; (37) and the reason, for which she had recourse to Maccaille, was probably no other than that he was then the nearest bishop to her father's house. Nor could a priest receive her profession; for the consecration

of virgins was reserved to the episcopal order. It has been said that Mel of Ardagh, not Maccaille, was the bishop, from whom she received the veil. This story is so plainly contradicted by the best authorities, that it is not worthy of refutation. (38) Another still more foolish story is that she received it in the Isle of Man. (39) The only foundation for it was, as Usher has justly remarked, that in consequence of the likeness of the names, Maccaille was confounded with Maguil or Maccaldus bishop of Man. (40) St. Brigid was undoubtedly, at least, 16 years old at the time of her consecration, as in those days that was the earliest age at which that ceremony would have been allowed. (41) We may also observe, that her parents would not have had the intention of getting her married at the time she declared for the state of virginity, unless she had reached that time of life. Supposing then that her consecration took place as soon as the laws of the Church would permit, it may be admitted that she was veiled in the year 469. (42) We are told that, when kneeling at the foot of the altar during the time of her profession, the part, on which she knelt, being of wood, recovered its original freshness and continued green to a very late period. (43) It has been also related, that seven or eight other maidens took the veil along with her, (44) and that some of them, together with their parents, requested of her to remain in their country. She complied with their wish, (45) and, being placed over her companions by the bishop, lived for some time along with them in a place assigned to them by him within his district, (46) and probably in that part of the king's county, which formerly belonged to Meath. (47) How long she remained there we are not informed; but, as her reputation for sanctity became daily greater and greater, crowds of young women and widows applied to her for admission into her holy institution. (48)

(30) "A sua pueritia bonarum litterarum studiis inolevit." Cogitosus, *cap.* 1.

(31) *Ib.* and *cap.* 2.

(32) It is said in the third Life (*cap.* 17), that, when her father and brothers were pressing her to accept the hand of a certain suitor, she prayed to God to visit her with some deformity, and that one of her eyes burst and was melted in her head, on observing which the father consented to her taking the veil, after which the eye was restored to her. In the sixth Life (*cap.* 9.) we find a different account; for, as there related, it was not St. Brigid that lost an eye but one of her brothers, who, having had the audacity to give her a blow, because she refused to marry, was in punishment for this crime struck by an Angel. There is nothing like either of these anecdotes in Cogitosus or in the first Life, nor even in the fourth.

(33) In Colgan's edition of Cogitosus the name is written *Macchille*, in that of Canisius and Messingham *Macca*; but the true spelling is *Maccaille*, which we find in Brogan's Irish poem or in the first Life, and in other documents (*Tr. Th. p.* 525.)

(34) "Qui (Maccalleus) caeleste intuens desiderium et pudicitiam, et tantum castitatis amorem in tali virgine, *pallium album et vestem candidam* super ipsius venerabile caput imposuit." Cogit. *cap.* 3. In the first Life we have (*Stroph.* 8) "Posuit Maccaille velum super caput Sanctae Brigidae." The Calendar of Cashel and Maguire in his *Festilogium* (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 525.) likewise mention Maccaille as the person, who gave the veil; and, the latter adds, a *white* one, to St. Brigid. Tirechan says, that she received the *pallium* from Mac-Cuille or Maccaille. The fifth Life (*cap.* 28) calls the consecrating bishop *Maccaleus*. It is worth remarking, that the dress of the ancient Irish nuns was white; nor were there any distinct orders of them in Ireland until some centuries after St. Brigid's time, as they all followed the same rule that she had observed. The white garment of St. Brigid is mentioned in the third Life, *cap.* 108. We find nothing about cutting of hair, which was not practised in the profession of holy virgins as early, or, at least as generally, as the regulation for their wearing a particular habit. (See Tillemont, *Mem.* &c. *Tom.* x. *p.* 84-302, and Bingham *B.* VII. *ch.* IV. *sect.* 6.)

(35) " Sancta Brigida pallium cepit sub manibus filii Cuille in Huisniach Midi." (Usher *p.* 1031.)

(36) See *Chap.* VII. §. 5.

(37) In the fourth Life (*L.* 2. *c.* 3.) it is said, that after an absence of some duration she returned to her own country, that is, to the district where her relatives resided, and that *in said tract* a place was assigned to her for erecting a monastery for holy virgins, afterwards called *Kill-dara.*

(38) It is to be found in the third Life, (*cap.* 18) with the author of which Mel appears to have been a great favourite. This Life was, I suspect, patched up in the diocese of Ardagh, and very probably in an island of Lough Rie called the *Island of all saints,* in which Augustin Magraidain lived, who, having compiled Lives of Irish saints, died A. D. 1405. (Ware's *Writers*) Colgan got one of his copies of it from the monastery of that place. Yet, however partial to Mel, it mentions Maccaille but makes him a disciple of Mel, and represents him as introducing St. Brigid to him. Harris, having met with this stuff, makes Mel the bishop, from whom St. Brigid received the veil. Did he never read Cogitosus or the tracts quoted above (*Not.* 34. 35)?

(39) For this fable Usher quotes (*p.* 643.) Hector Boethius, *Histor. Scot.*

(40) See *Pr. p.* 1031. Usher has been followed by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 525.) and Bollandus (*ad Brigid.* 1 *Feb. Comm. pr.* §. 4). Concerning Maccaldus see above *Chap.* VI. §. XI.

(41) Above *Not.* 27. Usher (*Ind. Chron. ad A.* 467) has from Hector Boethius St. Brigid's profession at the age of fourteen. But he remarks (*p.* 643) that he does not know whence that writer got his information. I am sure that he got it only out of his own head on the supposition, that St. Brigid became a nun as soon as was allowable. In the times of Boethius, who lived before the Council of Trent, that age was considered as sufficient for receiving the veil.

(42) Usher, reckoning her age only fourteen, has A. D. 467.

(43) Cogitosus, *cap.* 3.

(44) The fifth Life (*cap.* 28, *seqq.*) has seven; the third (*cap.* 18) mentions eight, although a few lines before it states that St. Brigid set out from her father's house with only three of them. It seems

that, when they arrived at the place where the bishop was, they met there four or five other postulants.

(45) Third Life, *cap.* 18. (46) Fifth Life, *cap.* 30.

(47) That it was in the ancient Meath may be collected from its having been not far from Usny hill, where St. Brigid received the veil. In the third Life (*cap.* 20) it is spoken of as surrounded by towns in Meath. Usny hill is not far distant from the now King's county, in which Maccaille seems to have usually resided. (See *Chap.* VII. §. 5.) In Fearcall, formerly a part of Meath, now the baronies of Ballycowen and Ballyboy (King's Co.) there was a place called *Rath-brighide i. e.* Brigid's town. (*Tr. Th. p.* 625). At any rate St. Brigid's dwelling was either in that district or in an adjoining one of Westmeath; and I find a *Teghbrighide*, or Brigid's house in Kinel-fiacha (*Tr. Th. ib.*) *i. e.* the country about Kilbeggan.

(48) Fifth Life, *cap.* 32.

§. IV. It would have been inconvenient to assemble so many persons in one place; and the good of the Church required that those pious ladies should be divided into various establishments in the respective districts, of which they were natives. On this account St. Brigid was probably invited by some bishops to proceed to their dioceses for the purpose of introducing that regular observance, which had rendered her first establishment so celebrated. Teffia, or the country about Ardagh, of which Mel was bishop, is particularly mentioned among the districts, which she visited; (49) and her interviews with that prelate on religious concerns might have given rise to the notion that from him she had received the veil. Ere bishop of Slane (50) was one of her friends, and it is said that she went with him to Munster on occasion of his paying a visit to his relatives, as he was originally from that province. (51) It is added, that they were in the plain of Femyn, *Magh-Femin*, at a time when a great synod was held there, and that Ere spoke highly in honour of St. Brigid, and of the miraculous powers

with which the Almighty had gifted her. (52) Thence she is said to have gone with her female companions to the house of a person, (53) who lived near the sea, and to have spent a considerable time there. (54) Next we find her in the plain of Cliach (county of Limerick) (55) where, as is related, she obtained from a chieftain the liberty of a man, whom he had in chains. (56) From that country she went to the territory of *Labrathi* (57) in South Leinster, and remained there for some time. Having not seen her father for several years she thence proceeded to his house to pay him a visit, (58) and after a short stay set out for Connaught, and fixed her residence, together with the other ladies of her institution, in the plain of Hai or Magh-ai in the now county of Roscommon. (59) While in that country, she was occupied in forming various establishments for persons of her sex, according to the rule which she had formed. (60) The times, in which the transactions now related occurred, are not specified; but having found them, partly in the third and partly in the fourth Life, treated of before the establishment at Kildare, I thought it advisable to give them in this place.

(49) Third Life, *cap.* 29. Fourth, *L.* 1. *c.* 34.

(50) See *Chap.* VII. §. 7.

(51) Third Life, *cap.* 71. *seqq.* About Erc's family and connexions see Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 544.).

(52) Third Life, *cap.* 72. On Magh-femyn see above *Chap.* VI. *Not.* 61. Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 625) has a *Kill-brighde* near Fethard in Tipperary.

(53) The reader must not think it strange to find St. Brigid and her companions travelling from one place to another, and taking up their residence in private houses. In the early times of the Church, and before monasteries or nunneries were established, consecrated virgins used to live with their relatives and friends, and could, according as necessity or certain duties required, appear in public. Fleury sums up the practice on these points in a few words;

" Dans les premiers temps les vierges, même consacrées solemnellement par l'evêque, ne laissoient pas de vivre dans les maisons particulières, n'ayant pour clôture que leur vertu. Depuis elles formèrent de grandes communautes ; et enfin on a jugé nécessaire de les tenir enfermées sous une clôture très-exacte." *Instit. au Dr. Eccl. part.* 1. *ch.* 28.

(54) Third Life, *cap.* 73. Colgan (*Not. ad. loc.*) thinks that the place was Killbrighde, now Kilbride in the county of Waterford. It is in the neighbourhood of Tramore.

(55) Cliach is otherwise called Aracliach (Colgan *AA. SS. p.* 13.). The country about Knockany, the barony of Conagh, &c. were comprized in it. (See *Chap.* VI. §. 8.)

(56) Third Life, *cap.* 76.

(57) *Ib. cap.* 81. Colgan thinks that *Labrathi* was the same as Hy-Kinsellagh. (See above *Not.* 45 to *Chap.* VI.)

(58) *Ib. cap.* 87. (59) See *Not.* 79 to *Chap.* V.

(60) The fourth Life (*L.* 1. *c.* 49.) has ; " Post haec exiit S. Brigida cum suis ut peregrinaretur in provincia Conachtorum—et habitavit ibi in *campo Haii*, aedificans cellas et monasteria per circuitum." See also Third Life, *cap.* 94. Colgan mentions (*Tr. Th. p.* 625.) several places in Connaught, called *Killbrighde, Teghbrighde*, &c. But we are not bound to believe, that nunneries were erected there at the time we are treating of. It is more probable that the ladies, who first submitted to her rule, were not shut up in convents. (See *Not.* 53.) In the passages now referred to a bishop is spoken of as being at the place, in which she dwelt. But his name is not given. Was he Cethucus, or Asicus? (See *Chap.* VII. §. 5. 6.)

§. v. Before we enter on the remaining part of the history of St. Brigid, let us endeavour to find out how other ecclesiastical matters were going on in Ireland. We have seen that Iarlath succeeded Benignus in the see of Armagh. His accession could not have been earlier than the latter end of A. D. 468, the year in which Benignus died. He was of the illustrious house of the Dalfiatach, and was born at Rathtrena in the now county of Down, (61) a castle so called from the name of his father Trena. It is said

that he was a first cousin of Dichuo, St. Patrick's first convert, Trena and Trichem, the father of Dichuo, having been brothers. Nothing particular has come down to us with regard to his proceedings, and all that we know further about him is, that he was the third archbishop, and that he died on the eleventh of February A. D. 482. (62) Accordingly his incumbency lasted, at the utmost, little more mere than thirteen years. (63) During this period and for some years earlier the king of Ireland was Alild Molt, or, as some call him, *Olioll Molt*, who, from being king of Connaught, was raised to the throne of all Ireland in place of his relative Leogaire, (64) who fell in battle A. D. 463. (65) Whether he was a Christian or not, I am not able to ascertain; although some modern writers speak of him as such, and go so far as to assert that the Christian religion was during his reign incorporated with the civil constitution, (66) which is as much as to say, that it became the religion of the state. Yet it appears to me very strange, that his name never occurs in the Lives of St. Patrick, not even in the Tripartite, in which we find so many chieftains and subordinate kings mentioned as Christians. Alild's reign over Ireland began before the saint's death, and he had been king of Connaught for some years sooner. Therefore it would seem that, had he been a Christian, he would, in consequence of his dignity, have been particularly spoken of. His name occurs in one of the Lives of St. Brigid, but without the least allusion to his religion. As to a connexion between Church and State having taken place in his time, this cannot, I think, be reconciled with the fact that his successor Lugadius, as will be seen, lived and died a pagan. Alild, having reigned 20 years, was killed in the battle of Ocha in Meath, A. D. 483. (67)

(61) It has been deduced from a strange story related by

Jocelin (*cap.* 132) about the wickedness and miserable end of one Tremei, whom the Tripartite (*L.* 3. *c.* 57, *seqq.*) calls Trena the father of Iarlath, that Rath-trena was in the district of Mourne. In the course of that story, as given in the Tripartite, the birth of Iarlath is placed after St. Patrick's return from Munster, that is, after A. D. 452. (See *Chap.* VII. §. 9.) How then could he be a bishop in 468? Yet by these fables about Trena the poor man's character has been terribly blasted. I do not mean to assert, that he was a Christian; but if there was such a monster of the name of *Tremei* or *Trena*, I am sure he was different from the father of Iarlath. From the same fables Colgan (at *Iarlath*, 11 *Feb.*), after him Harris (*Bishops*), concluded that Iarlath was rather young when raised to the see of Armagh. For the Tripartite represents him as having been baptizéd, when an infant, by St. Patrick, and therefore after A. D. 432. But Colgan, when giving credit to these stories, should have followed them as he found them, and consequently should have placed Iarlath's infancy not merely after 432 but after 452. Strange that he did not see into those shameful anachronisms, and reject such nonsense *in toto*!

(62) *AA. SS.* at 11 *Feb.* Ware, *Bishops.* Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(63) The reckoning of 18 years for Iarlath's administration (See *Not.* 8 and 11.) cannot be reconciled with the dates marked in our Annals. Usher was so hard pushed to find room for them that (*p.* 875) he stretched them down to A. D. 483, as if that were the first year of the incumbency of Cormac the successor of Iarlath. Did he not know that Iarlath died on the 11th of February, or did he suppose that the see remained vacant a whole year? I suspect that the number XVIII, on which Usher built, (See *Not.* 141 to Chap. VI.) was a mistake of a transcriber for XIII. Ware very prudently said nothing about Iarlath's years, nor did Colgan in his enumeration of the bishops of Armagh (*Tr. Th. p.* 293). Harris, however, foisted into Ware, that Iarlath died in the 18th year of his pontificate.

(64) Alild Molt was son of Dathy, and consequently nearly related to Leogaire, who was Dathy's first cousin. (See *Not.* 20 to *Chap.* IV. and *Not.* 42 to *Chap.* V.) Usher, (*p.* 947) and Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 4.) instead of *Dathy* read *Nathi.*

(65) This is the year marked by Usher (*loc. cit.*) and *Ind. Chron.*), Ware (*loc. cit.*), and O'Flaherty (*Ogyg. cap.* 93). It is

specified by the observation that Leogaire reigned for full 30 years after the arrival of St. Patrick. Yet Colgan, following the 4 Masters, places (*Tr. Th. p.* 447) Leogaire's *death* (without adding that he was slain) in the year 458 (459). As I am not writing the civil history of Ireland, I will not enter into a disquisition on these subjects.

(66) O'Conor, *Dissertations*, &c. *Dissert.* 1 *sect.* 15.

(67) Usher, *p.* 1029 and *Ind. Chron.* Ware, *Ant. cap.* 4. O'Flaherty, &c. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 565) assign that battle to A. D. 478 (479), thus reckoning the 20 years of Alild Mok't's reign from 458. (See *Not.* 65.)

§. VI. Although it is uncertain what religion was professed by the monarch of Ireland, yet there can be no doubt that several of the minor kings and dynasts of this period were Christians. Some of those young princes, who had been instructed by St. Patrick, (68) must by this time have been in the possession of their domains. Illand, and perhaps Alild, princes of North Leinster, who are spoken of as Christians, (69) belonged to those times, as did Crimthan the dynast of Hy-Kinsellagh. (70) Among the Ulster chieftains, who were then Christians, I believe we may safely reckon Fergus, son of St. Patrick's friend Conal, and grandfather of St. Columba. (71) I pass over some persons of less note, and whom we should rather call nobles than chieftains, such as those belonging to the families of Dichuo, Daire, &c. In Connaught we find, at least, some members of the princely house of Tir-Amalghaidh, (72), and, if we are to believe the Tripartite, even a son of the monarch Dathy. (73) But of all the Irish princes of that period, who distinguished themselves as Christians, Aengus, king of Cashel, or Munster, has been most celebrated for his piety and zeal. It can scarcely be admitted, that he was a king when St. Patrick was in that province, nor can it by any means be allowed that the so much talked of synod of Cashel, or meeting at Magh-femyn, was

held at that time. (74) Yet there is nothing to prevent our believing that, several years later, perhaps about A. D. 484, a synod and meeting were held in those places for the purpose of regulating the ecclesiastical concerns of the South of Ireland. Ailbe was certainly a bishop at that time; and it is not improbable that Declan of Ardmore, although younger than Ailbe, was then old enough to be one also. For, although he lived until towards the middle of the sixth century, in which he was particularly distinguished; (76) yet, if we suppose that he reached the age of about ninety, he might have been thirty years old in the year 484. Thus, with the mere exclusion of the name of St. Patrick, might be admitted what is related in the Life of Declan concerning a conference in Magh-femyn, at which the chiefs of the Desii attended, and a synod at Cashel, in which, with the approbation and cooperation of king Aengus, the extent of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was determined and many salutary decrees enacted. (77) Or, should it be contended that Declan was not a member of that synod, it will not follow that it was not held, particularly as it is alluded to in the Life of Ailbe. (78) As to the meeting at Magh-femyn, (79) it was most probably the one assembled there, when St. Brigid was in that country, and at which bishop Ercus attended. (80)

(68) See *Chap.* v. §. 8. and *Not.* 12 to *Chap.* vi.

(69) *Chap.* vi. §. 5. (70) *Ib.* and *Not.* 57.

(71) See *Chap.* vi. §. 2. (72) See *Chap.* v. §. 12.

(73) See *ib.* This prince, Eochad, who is called son of Dathy, must have been a brother of Alild Molt, who, if he had ever become a Christian, would not have been passed over by an author, who tells us that a brother of his was one.

(74) See *Chap.* vi. §. 6. (75) See *Chap.* vii. §. 7.

(76) Chap. 1. §. 12.

(77) "Commanentes in civitate Cassel *S. Patricius* et S. Albaeus sanctusque Declanus cum multis sanctis suis discipulis

apud regem Aenaeam multa circa ecclesiastici regiminis et vigoris Christiani leges, et in Christianae fidei ulteriorem propagationem constituerunt."

(78) See *Not.* 67. to *Chap.* VI. It is somewhat remarkable that in Ailbe's life Declan is not mentioned on this occasion.

(79) *Vit. S. Declan. cap.* 30, *seqq.* (80) Above §. 4.

§. VII. When Ailbe was returning from Cashel to Emly he was met by Emna or Enda, who requested of him to go back with him and to supplicate the king that he would please to grant him the island of *Arn*, (81) for the purpose of erecting a monastery on it. Ailbe complied with his wish and obtained for him said island, or perhaps only a part of it, unless we are to suppose that it was not as yet inhabited; which is indeed probable, as Aengus, on being spoken to on the business, observed that he had not before heard of such an island. Enda immediately set about building the monastery, which could scarcely have been founded before about A. D. 480, as he lived until about the year 540. (82) Nor can its foundation be assigned to a period subsequent to 490, that being the year, in which Aengus was killed. It has been said that Enda erected ten monasteries in the island, as if one had not been sufficient, or all the religious houses, that existed there in late times, should be ascribed to him. (83) The most authentic accounts make mention only of one monastery, in which he governed 150 monks according to the strictest rules of discipline. (84) Enda was of the illustrious house of the princes of Orgiel, (85) and son of Conal the son of Damen or Damhene. (86) This Damen could not have been the prince of Orgiel of that name, who is said to have lived in the latter part of the sixth century; (87) for, in that case, we should bring Enda down to the seventh, which cannot be reconciled with the most creditable authorities. (88) Enda's father is called Conal of Clogher, whence it may be inferred that he

was born at or near that town. (89) According to some accounts he was brother in law to king Aengus, who is said to have been married to his sister Dairine. (90) This is less improbable than the stories concerning his having been actually prince of Orgiel; and, on having resigned his principality, gone to foreign countries for the purpose of doing penance; erected a monastery called *Latinum* after he had been ordained priest at Rome, on which occasion some monstrous fables occur which even Colgan rejects; and on the whole having spent 20 years in exile before he made application for a grant of the isle of Arran, it is unnecessary to examine these and some other vague circumstances of his life, which are to be met with here and there; and I will merely observe, that those rambles of 20 years after having reached the age of manhood cannot be reconciled with his having lived until about A. D. 540, unless we should suppose that he was, at least, 100 years old when he died. The resort of so many distinguished persons to his monastery, and the manner, in which he is spoken of in the old calendars and martyrologies, prove that he was an eminent saint and most highly respected. I do not find him marked by any other title than that of abbot.

(81) It is the largest of the South isles of Arran, which are three in number and lie in the mouth of the bay of Galway. It has been called *Ara-na-naomh*, or, Arran of the saints. In Ailbe's Life we read; "Magna est illa insula, et est terra sanctorum; quia nemo scit numerum sanctorum, qui sepulti sunt ibi, nisi solus Deus."

(82) In the Acts of St. Brendan of Clonfert it is related that, before he set out on his great voyage, he paid a visit to Enda in Arran and spent three days with him. (See Usher, *p.* 963.) This must have been, as Colgan observes, (*AA. SS. p.* 714) about A. D. 540. And it appears from the Acts of Kieran of Clonmacnois, that Enda was alive in 530 (Usher *Ind. Chron.*) and even later, as will be seen elsewhere when treating of Kieran. It is

strange that Usher, on finding that Enda lived to so late a period, could have affixed the foundation of his monastery of Arran to A. D. 449. (*Ib.*) He was led astray in this and several other chronological points by his preconceived opinion, that Ailbe was a bishop earlier even than 449. Had he not placed the monastery of Arran too early, he need not have doubted (*ib.* at *A.* 530) of Enda's being alive in said year. Harris, as usual, follows Usher, and has (*Monasteries*) for Arran A. D. 449, although Ware, who is seldom wrong, and whose opinion he ought, at least, to have let the reader know, assigns (*Antiq. Chap.* 27 at *Galway*) that foundation to about the year 480. What has been now observed concerning the time that Enda founded his monastery serves also to prove, that whatever synod was held at Cashel during the reign of Aengus did not take place until the period we are treating of; for that monastery was erected very soon after the breaking up of the synod.

(83) In the Life of Enda or Endeus (*AA. SS.* 21 *Mart.*) written by Augustin Magraidin, and abounding in fables, we read (*cap.* 17) "Divisit in partes decem inter eos (discipulos) insulam, et in ea construxit decem *monasteria*; et in quolibet ordinavit unum superiorem quasi patrem, et alterum quasi secundum ei in potestate." If these superiors of the respective houses were not mentioned, it might be admitted that Enda had constructed ten different cells at some distance from each other, all which, however, would have formed but one monastery of that sort, which the Egyptian monks called *Laura*. (See Bingham, *B.* VII. *ch.* 2 *sect.* 2.) But the author alluded to the ten religious houses, that were in the island in his days, and of which in Colgan's time there remained only the chapels or churches, which Archdall, with his usual wisdom, says (at *Arran*) were built by Enda.

(84) See *AA. SS. p.* 711, *seqq.*

(85) Orgiel or Oriel comprized the now counties of Louth and Monaghan, and some other districts.

(86) Colgan says that Enda was the *Mac-hua-Daimene* or *Damhene* of Tirechan's list. (See *Not.* 33 to *Chap.* VII.) I believe Enda could not have been a disciple of St. Patrick, unless perhaps when a mere boy. Usher happened to say (*p.* 867) that Enda was the same as Ennaus son of Cath-bothai, and that he

died *A. D.* 457. But in the *Addenda et Emendanda* (*p.* 1048) he marked a *Dele* to what he had there written.

(87) See *Tr. Th. p.* 381.

(88) In a marginal note to *Tr. Th. p.* 381, seemingly written by John Conry, to whom the copy, which I use, once belonged, it is contended in opposition to Colgan, that Damen, the grand father of Enda, was the same as Damen, who lived late in the sixth century. But the arguments are of no weight, and some of them prove the very reverse. For instance, the writer refers to a passage of O'Donnell's Life of Columb-kill, (*L.* 1. *c.* 106) in which it is said that this saint called upon Endeus in Arran. Now O'Donnell places this circumstance before Columb-kill's departure from Ireland, which was in 563. Therefore the monastery of Arran existed long before 583, one of the earliest years guessed at in said note for the foundation of Arran. Columba might have paid that visit about A. D. 540. Another argument is that St. Carecha, said to have been sister of Enda, and grand-daughter of Damen, died, according to the 4 Masters in 578. Surely this proves the contrary of what the note-writer maintained. Carecha is marked as having lived to a very great age. How then could she have been the grand-daughter of a man, who, at the earliest, did not die until A. D. 560? We must, therefore, distinguish this Damen from the grandfather of Enda, or reject all that has been said about his having got Arran from king Aengus, his having been a superior of Kieran, visited by Brendan (see *Not.* 82) and even by Columba. Yet I acknowledge, that a difficulty of much greater weight than those alleged by the writer of the note may be deduced from the catalogue of Irish saints (Usher, *p.* 914), in the second order of whom we find an Endeus. That order flourished from about the year 544 until near the end of the sixth century. Endeus of Arran might have been alive for some time after 544, and so be reckoned in that order; but the difficulty consists in the name, *Endeus*, being placed towards the end of the list after the Brendans, Finnians, Kieran, Columba, &c. as if he were a junior compared with them, and accordingly should be supposed to belong not to the former, but to the latter part of the sixth century. Yet perhaps the name was misplaced in Usher's copy; and its appearing with one or two others within crotchets seems to indicate, that something of that kind had happened. Should this observation

not be thought satisfactory, we may observe that the Endeus of the catalogue was a different person, perhaps the one of Emleaghfad who was a disciple of Columba, while the great Endeus of Arran is to be placed in the first order among the Ailbes, Declans, Maccarthens, and so many others, whose names are not mentioned. The Bollandists state (at 21 *Mart.*) that he did not live down to A. D. 550, nor perhaps later than 540.

(89) Colgan relates that St. Fanchea (*AA. SS.* 1. *Jan.*) a sister of Enda was born at Rathmore near Clogher, formerly a castle and residence of the princes of Orgiel.

(90) *Vit. S. Endaei, cap.* 12. Unless this be a story founded on the kindness of Aengus towards Enda, we must admit that Aengus was twice married, first to Dairene, and next to Ethne Huathach, daughter of Crimthan of Hy-Kinsellagh, who was certainly his queen at the time he was killed. (See *Tr. Th. p.* 551, and 565, and Keating, *Book* 2.)

§. VIII. The reputation of Ailbe was daily increasing. Being a very humble man, he wished to shun the honour that was shown to him by every one, and accordingly determined on withdrawing from his diocese and on retiring to the island of *Tyle*, (91) there to live known only to God, and retired from the world. Aengus, however, thwarted his plan, and gave directions at all the seaports that Ailbe should be watched and not allowed to quit those, who by his preaching and baptizing were become children of God. (92) It seems that Ailbe was to be accompanied by several pious persons, and that his intention was to lead together with them a monastic life; for it is added that, though not permitted to leave Ireland, he then sent 22 men beyond sea. (93) These were allowed to depart; but the good king would not suffer his subjects to be deprived of the spiritual superintendance of Ailbe. This was probably one of his last pious acts, and not long prior to his being killed A. D. 490 in the great battle of Killosnadh. (94) The memory of Aengus was so much revered, that it was considered a great

honour to be a member of his family and descended from him. Hence it has come to pass that a considerable number of persons have been called his sons, no matter in what part of Ireland they lived, and that many an Aengus has been changed into the king of Cashel, and many a Natfraich into his father. (95) These mistakes were carried so far, that of 24 children, whom it was pretended he had, twelve are said to have been saints. (96) I find only one saint, the Abbot Naal, who may with a sufficient degree of probability be pronounced a son of his, and who will be treated of hereafter. But among his less immediate posterity we shall meet with several persons, distinguished for their sanctity and learning.

(91) *Tyle* is the name used by the Irish for the Thule so much spoken of by the ancients. It is in fact the same name, and signifies a northern country, from *thuah*, the left, or North. Usher quotes (*Pr. p.* 868) a passage from Dicuil an Irish writer of the 8th or 9th century, in which the island *Tyle* is plainly supposed to be Iceland. It is well known that Irish missionaries have been in that island, and Dicuil speaks of some, who had been there in his time; but it is singular that it could have been resorted to by navigators from Ireland as far back as the 5th century. If what is said of Ailbe's intention of going thither be true, it shows that the ancient Irish carried on a more extensive commerce than is generally imagined.

(92) *Vit. S. Albaei, cap.* 40.

(93) *Ib.* Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 241) thinks that for 22 ought to be read 24; and that those persons were the 24 disciples of Ailbe, whom Brendan, in the course of his voyage, found in an island leading an angelical life.

(94) The 4 Masters have (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 565.); "Anno 489 (490) Aengussius filius Natfraich Momoniae rex occubuit in praelio de Killosnadh, caesus per Murchertachum filium Ercae, Illandum filium Dunlaing, Alildum filium Dunlaing, et Euchadium Guineach." (See above *Not.* 62 to *Chap.* VI.)

(95) For instance Marian Gorman mentions (at 31 July) three sons of a Natfraich, viz. Follomon, Papan, and Colman Cumber.

Colgan says (*AA. SS. p.* 174) that in the margin was added, that this Colman was son of Darine, whom he supposed wife of Aengus. (See *Not.* 90). Thence he concludes that Colman was the son of Aengus, and only the grandson of Natfraich. Then he infers that likewise Follomon and Papan were sons of Aengus. Why place such reliance on a marginal note by some one, who confounded two Colmans together? Or was he sure that Darine was wife to Aengus? It is much more probable that she was not. Besides, those persons are expressly called sons of Natfraich. If Marian thought that their father was king Aengus, would he not have mentioned his name, especially as it was far more celebrated and revered than that of Natfraich? By a similar process Colgan (*ib.*) makes out another son of Aengus, one Iernoc.

(96) Colgan (*loc. cit.*). The extravagant fable of Aengus's 24 sons and as many daughters, and half of each number and sex saints (*ib.*), must have arisen, at least in part, from the circumstance of many persons having been called sons or daughters of men named *Aengus*. Hence they were fathered upon the king; and at length some compiler reckoning them up made out in all 48 individuals, of whom, according to various vulgar traditions here and there throughout Ireland, he was reported to have been the father.

§. IX. Ecclesiastical schools and seminaries, under the name of monasteries, were established and governed by several Irish prelates of this period. That of Ailbe was probably founded before the death of king Aengus. The monastery or school of Fiech of Sletty has been already spoken of. (97 From the mention made of several disciples of Benignus (98) it appears that he also had some establishment of that kind, or rather that he governed not only the see but the school of Armagh, which seems to have been entrusted to him for some time before the death of St. Patrick. Mel of Ardagh had a *great monastery* (99) before he was visited by St. Brigid. (100) That of Moctheus of Louth has been highly celebrated, and he is represented as a man of learning. (101) Another renowned school was that of Ibar in Beg-erin,

(102) which he established after having preached the Gospel in various parts of Ireland, and in which he instructed a vast number of persons. (103) We may add, I believe, a school at Antrim under Mochay, whom we find not only called bishop but likewise abbot. (104) But the most distinguished institution of this kind in the more Northern parts of Ireland seems to have been that of Olcan of Derkan, who, although not a bishop in St. Patrick's life time, (105) was in all probability one about the year 480; (106) whereas Aengus Macnisse the first bishop of Connor, who died, at the latest, in 514, had been a scholar of his son. (107) In Connaught we find an episcopal monastery or seminary said to have been governed by Asicus at Elphin, (108) before he retired to the desert where he was discovered by some of the disciples, who belonged to that school. (109) There were also some establishments at this period for holy virgins and widows, independently of and partly prior to those of St. Brigid; but I cannot venture to ascertain more than two of them, viz. one at Drum-dubhain in Tyrone, (110) and another at or near Armagh. (111) With great probability may be added that of Kilsleve-Cuilin, in which Darerca, who has been called a sister of St. Patrick, (112) is said to have lived. (113) As to other establishments of this kind, which some writers date from those times, either we have not sufficient proofs of their then existence, (114) or we know that some of them must have been founded at a later period. (115)

(97) *Chap.* VI. §. V. (98) Above §. 1.

(99) Third Life of St. Brigid, *cap.* 29.

(100) See above §. 4.

(101) He is styled, *Pater egregiae familiae—Lucerna Lugmadensium—magnus egregius, et longaevus.* See *AA. SS. p.* 732. Compare with *Chap.* VI. §. 12 and *Chap.* VII. §. 7.

(102) See *Chap.* I. §. 13.

(103) In Ibar's Life, as quoted by Usher (*p.* 1061) we read; "Adultas, sacerdos, et multa sanctimonia vitae pollens, Ibarus missus est ad Evangelium praediscandum per Hiberniam, in qua innumeros ad fidem Christi convertit—Ad fines Lageniensium venit, et australem ejus partem, ubi est litoralis parva insula *Begerin*, id est, *Parva Hibernia*, dicta; ubi celebre condidit coenobium, et sacras ibidem literas aliasque artes optimas docuit maximam multitudinem Hibernorum et aliorum."

(104) See *Chap.* VII. §. 7. (105) *Chap.* VII. §. 6.

(106) Usher seems to place his promotion in 474 (*Ind. Chron.*).

(107) Olcan's *Acts* at 20 *Feb.*

(108) Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 40, Jocelin, *cap.* 107.

(109) See *Chap.* VII. §. 6.

(110) See *Chap.* VI. §. 3, and III. §. 18.

(111) *Chap.* VI. §. 13. (112) *Chap.* III. §. 18.

(113) Kilsleve-Cuilin (the Killevy of Archdall) is in the county of Armagh. The 4 Masters, and Ware (*Ant. cap.* 26) make Darerca, *alias* Moninne, who died on the 6th July A. D. 518, abbess there. (See more *Not.* 116 to *Chap.* XVII.) As to an nunnery of the same Darerca at Linn near Carrickfergus, which Harris and Archdall have, I can find no authority for it, except these few words of one of our martyrologies; "S. Darerca in Line" (*AA. SS. p.* 719). This passage may be understood of a church in that place under the title of St. Darerca; or there might have been a Darerca there different from the one of the 5th century. In *p.* 262 of the *AA. SS.* to which Archdall refers there is not a word about Line or Linn,

(114) A nunnery of St. Fanchea is mentioned in the Acts of Enda of Arran, whose sister she is said to have been. Colgan, who treats of this saint at 1 Jan. found a parish church at Rosoirthir in Fermanagh, in which her festival used to be kept, and thence conjectured that she had a nunnery there. From him Harris took it, and then Archdall, who has it at *Ross Orry*. But are we to suppose that every holy virgin established a nunnery? As to the authority of the Acts of Enda, it is not worth attending to (see *Not.* 83), unless corroborated by other testimonies; and it so happens, that what is said in them about Fanchea is intermixed with some of the most fabulous parts of the whole tract. Now I find no confirmation of what we there read about Fanchea. There

were, as Colgan remarks, several saints of that name; but nothing occurs to make us admit that any of them founded a nunnery in the 5th century. Harris and Archdall have two of these pretended early establishments in the county of Longford, for which there is much less foundation than for that of Fanchea. One is Druimcheo, said to have been erected for St. Lupita. Certain absurd stories concerning Mel and Lupita (Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 29. and Jocelin, *cap.* 102.) have given rise to the notion of there having been a nunnery there in St. Patrick's time. Whatever house of that kind Lupita might have been in, it was no other than that of Armagh. (See *Chap.* VI. §. 13. *Not.* 139) And if ever there was one at Druimcheo, it must have been derived from the institution of St. Brigid, who had spent some time in that neighbourhood. The other is that of Cluain-Bronach or Clonbrone near Granard for the two Emerias. To support this position, much better authority would be requisite than the vague traditions about these pretended daughters of the unfortunate Milchuo. (See *Not.* 26. to *Chap.* V.)

(115) Kill-Liadain or, as Archdall calls it, Killiadhuin (King's Co.) is said to have been founded by Kieran of Saigir, and therefore not before the sixth century. (See *Chap.* I. §. 14.) For the same reason that of Ross-Benchuir (Co. Clare) belongs to the same period; for the first abbess Concha, or rather Cocchea, is stated to have nursed Kieran. (*AA. SS p.* 461–465.) As to Kilaraght, which also has been affixed to the 5th century, I have already noticed some mistakes concerning it (*Chap.* V. §. 10.), and more will be seen elsewhere.

§. X. Ware and Harris assign the foundation of St. Brigid's great nunnery of Kildare to about A. D. 480. It is very probable that it was established some time between that year and 490. (116) The occasion of her founding it is thus related. As the great reputation of the saint, and the supernatural gifts, with which she was endowed, attracted persons from all parts of Ireland to the place of her residence, the people of Leinster thought they had the best right to enjoy such a treasure on account of her being of a Leinster family. Accordingly they sent to the part of Connaught where she then was, (117) a deputa-

tion, consisting of several respectable persons and friends of hers, to request that she would come and fix her residence among her own people and relatives. She complied with their wish, and, when arrived in that district, was welcomed with the greatest joy. She was immediately accommodated with a habitation for herself and her companions, which was the commencement both of her great monastery and of the town or city of Kildare. (118) It got this name from there being a very high oak tree near that habitation or cell. (119) Some land was annexed to the house, as a help towards the maintenance of the inmates. (120) Yet they were poor, and accordingly we find, now and then, mention made of alms of various sorts brought to the nunnery. (121) But whatever property St. Brigid possessed or acquired in any manner was shared by her with the poor, and wonderful instances of her liberality have been recorded. Let it suffice to mention that of her having given in charity some very valuable sacerdotal vestments, which used to be worn by the bishop on the more solemn festivals. (122) She was very hospitable to strangers and particularly to bishops and religious persons. (123) Her humility was so great, that she used occasionally to tend the cattle on her land. (124) The extraordinary veneration, in which she was held, caused a great resort of persons, from the highest (125) to the lowest, to her monastery for the purpose of requesting her prayers, and, joined with the afflux of the poor and infirm claiming alms and relief, gave rise to a new town for the accommodation of such a multitude of visitors. Meanwhile her establishment was becoming more and more numerous, and it became necessary to enlarge her buildings proportionally to the number of her nuns and postulants. (126) Next she found it requisite to provide spiritual direction and assistance both for her institution and for the settlers and visitors at Kildare. Knowing that this could not be regularly had without a bishop, she made appli-

cation for that purpose, and procured the appointment of a holy man to preside over that church and other churches belonging to her order. (127) If the latter part of this statement be correct, *viz.* that this bishop was to have jurisdiction over all the churches and communities of St. Brigid's institution, jointly however with herself, we will have one of the oldest instances, and perhaps the very first, of the exemption of religious houses from the jurisdiction of the ordinaries, or bishops in whose districts they were situated. That the saint herself and the abbesses, who succeeded her in Kildare, exercised certain rights and authority over the members of her institution, wherever they lived, will not be denied; but it is scarcely credible that the bishops of Kildare would have been allowed to interfere except with such of them as resided in their diocese. It seems, however, that some such privilege existed, with regard to Leinster, in the days of Cogitosus; for at that time Kildare was the ecclesiastical metropolis of the province, and Cogitosus a clergyman or monk there, was not backward in exalting the dignity of that see. (128) St. Brigid is mentioned as having *appointed* the bishop, whom she wished for; (129) but this must be understood relatively to his having been chosen in consequence of her recommendation, which it was not to be doubted would be attended to by the Irish prelates at that period.

(116) If we are to believe what is said of St. Brigid's having foretold to Illand, king of North Leinster, that he would be victorious in his battles, one of which was that in which Aengus, king of Cashel was killed (Fourth Life, *L.* 2. *c.* 10, *seqq.*) the house at Kildare must have been established before A. D. 490. For, she is spoken of as already settled there, and that was the year in which Aengus fell. (*Not.* 94.) Considering that she had been in Munster probably about the year 484 (see §. 4 and 6.) and spent sometime afterwards in Connaught before she founded Kildare, we may affix said foundation to about the year 487.

Colgan thought (*Tr. Th. p.* 565) it might have been about A. D. 483.

(117) Above §. 4. (118) Fourth Life, *L.* 2. *c.* 1. *seqq.*

(119) "Illa jam cella Scotice dicitur *Kill-dara*, Latine vero sonat *Cella quercus*. Quercus enim altissima ibi erat—cujus stipes adhuc manet." (*Ib. L.* 2 *c.* 3.) Usher has refuted (*p.* 626, *seqq.*) the assertion of that impostor Dempster, *viz.* that Kildare was so called from the reliques of a Scotch woman, Daria, mother of St. Ursula, which had been brought to Ireland. There was an Irish virgin of that name and a companion of St. Brigid at Kildare, who is mentioned in that same fourth Life, *L.* 2. *c.* 89. But the author derives the name, *Kildare*, not from her, but from the oak. And in the third Life (*cap.* 47.) it is called *Cella roboris*.

(120) See Cogitosus, *cap.* 5. where mention is made of reapers working for St. Brigid. The circumstance there related is given in the first or metrical Life in the following words; "Quodam die messis, *licet erat pauper* (non erat haec ansa reprehensionis menti religiosae) serenum fuit in ejus messe, per reliqua loca ingens pluvia." (*Stroph.* 15.)

(121) Third Life, *cap.* 47, 48, 50. Fourth, *L.* 2. *c.* 4, &c.

(122) Cogitos. *cap.* 29. Fourth Life, *L.* 2. *c.* 80. This act was somewhat similar to the celebrated one of St. Ambrose, who disposed of some sacred utensils for the ransom of captives, a proceeding which he maintains the propriety of in his *Offices* (*L.* 2. *c.* 28); and which was imitated by St. Augustin, as Possidius tells us in his Life, *cap.* 24.

(123) See Cogitosus, *cap.* 6. fourth Life, *L.* 2. *cap.* 55-59.

(124) Cogitosus, *cap.* 7, 8.

(125) See third Life, *cap.* 64, *seqq.*

(126) In the fourth Life (*L.* 2. *c.* 3.) after mentioning the first habitation or cell, which was assigned to St. Brigid, it is added that she erected there a monastery for a great number of virgins. Cogitosus in the prologue writes; "Haec ergo egregiis crescens virtutibus, ubi per famam bonarum rerum ad eam de omnibus provinciis Hiberniae innumerabiles populi de utroque sexu confluebant vota sibi voventes voluntarie, suum monasterium—et culmen praecellens omnia *monasteria* (nunneries) Scotorum—in campestribus campi Liffei (*Maghliffe*) supra fundamentum fidei firmum construxit."

(127) After the words just quoted Cogitosus continues; "Et prudenti dispensatione de animabus eorem regulariter in omnibus procurans, et de *Ecclesiis multarum provinciarum sibi adhaerentibus* sollicitans et secum revolvens, quod sine summo sacerdote, qui ecclesias consecraret, et ecclesiasticos in eis gradus subrogaret, esse non posset, illustrem virum et solitarium, omnibus moribus ornatum, per quem Deus virtutes operatus est plurimas, convocans, eum de eremo, et de sua vita solitaria, et sibi obviam pergens, ut ecclesiam in episcopali dignitate cum ea gubernaret, atque ut nihil de ordine sacerdotali *in suis deesset ecclesiis*, accersivit. "Et postea sic unctum caput," &c.

(128) He describes it as a principal see and church, and gives its prelate the title of *archbishop*. The abbess, he says, was revered by all the other abbesses of Ireland. This may be true of the greatest part of them, whereas most of our nunneries followed the rule of St. Brigid.

(129) The fourth Life has (*L.* 2. *c.* 19.); "Conlianus episcopus sanctus et propheta Dei, qui habebat cellam in australi parte Campi Liffei, venit in curru ad S. Brigidam, et commoratus est apud eam aliquot diebus, quem beata Brigida *primum episcopum elegit* in sua civitate Killdara." Cogitosus also seems to say (*Not.* 127.) that the appointment was made by her. But it cannot be supposed that so humble a saint would have arrogated to herself a privilege quite contrary to the canons of the Church, or that such a pretension would have been allowed by the hierarchy.

§. XI. The person thus appointed to the new see of Kildare was Conlaith or Conlaeth, or as some call him, Conlian, (130) who had hitherto led a recluse life and was distinguished for his sanctity. (131) It might seem from a passage already quoted, (132) that he was a bishop before he was placed at Kildare; but the text may be well understood of that title being given to him, as the usual one by which he was spoken of in after times, although he was not entitled to it until he was appointed to that see. (133) He was its first bishop; and whatever some persons have advanced concerning certain predecessors of his is not worthy of consideration. (134) The time of

his consecration, or, what comes to the same point, of the erection of the see, is not mentioned; but it is probable that it was, at least, two or three years subsequent to the foundation of the nunnery, and not earlier than the year 490. Hitherto the institution had been attended by a priest, and one named Natfroich is distinctly spoken of as the spiritual companion of St. Brigid, and having remained with her all his life time, (135) notwithstanding the superintendance of Conlaeth. It is stated that he used to read for the nuns in the refectory, while they were at their meals. (136) By whom Conlaeth was consecrated we are not informed; but there can be no doubt of there having been a sufficiently full attendance of bishops on that occasion. (137) Fiech of Sletty the principal bishop of Leinster was still alive, and so were St. Brigid's friends Ibar and Ereus, and perhaps Maccalleus. Bronus of Cassel-irra, who is often mentioned in some of St. Brigid's Lives, and who seems to have paid her a visit while she was in Connaught, (138) might have then come to Leinster to shew his attention to the saint, particularly as he is said to have owed to her interposition and miraculous powers the exculpation of his character from a charge once brought against him, by an infamous woman before a great assembly, and in the presence of several bishops. (139) It has been said that Conlaeth presided over a College of monks at Kildare. I believe this is a mistake; he is not mentioned by any other name than that of *bishop*, nor are any monks spoken of as governed by him. (140) There was undoubtedly a body of inferior clergy under him for the service of the church; but we are not to suppose that all our clergy were of the monastic sort. I do not find any allusion to monks at Kildare until long after St. Brigid's time. (141) Much less admissible is the strange assertion of Colgan that bishop Conlaeth was subject to St. Brigid, whence he would conclude that the abbesses after her time were for many

years invested with jurisdiction over the abbots, or, what would be the same, the bishops of Kildare. (142) There is not the least foundation for this statement; while, on the contrary it is evident from the testimony of Cogitosus, that the bishops of that see were as independent as any others. All that can be admitted is, that in St. Brigid's time the church expenses seem to have been defrayed out of the funds of the monastery; (143) and that her successors had, in virtue of the original foundation by the saint, a right to the use of the church. (144) While they presided over their institution, the bishops governed the diocese; although the church or cathedral remained under the joint management of both parties. (145) To conclude the account of the establishment, &c. of Kildare, and of St. Brigid's proceedings about the year 490, I will merely observe, that, were we to believe the story-tellers of Glastonbury, she would have been in that place at this very period; for they tell us that she arrived there in 488, and remained for many years in a small island near that monastery. (146) This nonsense is scarcely worth mentioning. From her Lives and every Irish document relative to her history it is plain that she spent her whole life in Ireland.

(130) Cogitosus (*cap.* 29) calls him *Conlaith*, and (*cap.* 35) *Conlaeth*. In the first Life (*Stroph.* 41.) the name is written *Conlaidh*; the fourth has *Conlian* (*Not. prec.*),

(131) See *Not.* 127, and 129. (132) *Not.* 129.

(133) Cogitosus represents him as merely a holy man living in retirement until he was taken notice of by St. Brigid; and then adds, Et *postea sic unctum* caput, &c. (See *Not.* 127.)

(134) Ware mentions a Red book of the Earl of Kildare, which has one Lonius and then Ivor before Conlaith, and which was followed by Stanihurst. He observes that this is an error, and, he might have added, a palpable one. For, as we have seen (*Not.* 129), Conlaith is expressly called the first bishop of Kildare; and it is evident from Cogitosus (See *Not.* 126, 127.) that there neither was

nor could be a bishop there before him; as the establishment of the monastery and the formation of a new town were the causes of a bishop being required there. And until then there was scarcely a house on the spot. Who that Lonius was it is difficult to discover; unless he were a person of that name, who lived in the sixth century and was revered at a place called *Killgaura*, the affinity between which name and *Killdara* might, as Colgan very properly remarks, (*Tr. Th. p.* 565), have led to the mistake of placing him at Kildare. As to Ivor he was the same as Ibar, who having had some communications with St. Brigid, and been a friend of hers, (third Life, *cap.* 54. fourth, *L.* 2. *c.* 23) was supposed by some blunderer to have been her ordinary, and therefore at Kildare.

(135) The fourth Life has (*L.* 1 *c.* 43) prior to the foundation of Kildare, the appointment of Natfroich to the duty of attending St. Brigid, which it erroneously attributes to St. Patrick, unless we should suppose that he was constituted her spiritual director, when she was very young. (See above §. 2.("S. Patricius dixit ad beatam virginem; ex hac die non licebit tibi sine sacerdote ambulare, sed sit sacerdos in comitatu tuo. Ordinavit tunc S. Patricius sacerdotem nomine Natfroich, qui in tota vita sua feliciter in comitatu S. Brigidae vixit." The author of the third Life has stupidly changed (*cap.* 41) the attendance on St. Brigid into that of an *auriga*; and hence the silly denomination of *charioteer* added to his title of *priest*. Poor Archdall tells us (at *Kildare*) that Natfroich is said to have been *coachman* to St. Brigid! Pray where were coaches to be found in those days? When St. Brigid and Natfroich happened to travel together, we may easily suppose that he drove the curricle; but this is very different from the menial office of a charioteer.

(136) *Tr. Th. p.* 629.

(137) Perhaps it was to the assemblage of bishops for the consecration of Conlaith, that Cogitosus alluded, where he writes (*cap.* 6.); "Advenientibus enim episcopis, et cum ea hospitantibus," &c.

(138) See third Life, *cap.* 85.

(139) The matter is thus related in the third Life, (*cap.* 39.); "Quaedam autem, quae in precatum cesidit, dicebat infantem, quem genuit, esse cujusdam episcopi de discipulis St. Patricii nomine Broon. Ille autem negabat. Tunc omnes in concilio,

audientes mirabilia et opera St. Brigidae, dixerunt quod haec quaestio per illam finiri possit. Adducta est itaque mulier cum suo infante in sinu ad Brigidam extra concilium. Dixit autem Brigida ad illum; De quo viro concepisti infantem hunc? Illa respondit, de episcopo Broon. Brigida dixit; non sic existimo. Tunc Brigida ad S. Patricium humilians se dixit; Pater, tuum est hanc quaestionem solvere. Patricius respondens ait; Mea filia charissima Brigida, tu revelare digneris. Sancta itaque Brigida signans os illius foeminae signo crucis Christi, statim intumuit totum caput ejus cum lingua; sed nec sic illa poenituit. Tunc Brigida linguam infantis benedixit, dicens ei; Quis est pater tuus? Ille respondit ambulans; non est episcopus Broon pater meus, sed quidam homo, qui sedet in parte concilii ultimus, ac turpis vilisque. Tunc omnes gratias egerunt Deo, et Brigida magnificata est, et mulier poenitentiam egit." The same narrative is given almost *verbatim* in the fourth Life (*L.* 1. *c.* 42.) and more diffusely, with some variations, in the fifth (*cap.* 50.). It is placed just before the appointment of Natfroich, of which above (*Not.* 135.) and if such a circumstance occurred in the presence of St. Patrick, St. Brigid must have been then very young. Neither Cogitosus nor the author of the first Life have a word about it, although they relate several miracles much less remarkable and worthy of being recorded than this would have been. I suspect that it is an imitation of a somewhat similar anecdote concerning St. Briccius or Briction bishop of Tours and immediate successor of St. Martin. (See Gregor. Turon. *Hist. Fr. L.* 2. *c.* 1.

(140) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 627) says it appears from Cogitosus and other writers of St. Brigid's Acts, that Conlaeth presided over monks when bishop of Kildare. But he refers to no particular passage, nor indeed, in my opinion, could he have done so. At least I have not been able to find one to that purpose, nor so much as the title of *abbot* applied to Conlaeth, as it frequently is in Irish history, whenever bishops had monasteries annexed to their cathedrals. Colgan had before said, that there were three dignitaries at Kildare in St. Brigid's time, viz. the abbess, an abbot, and a Bishop; and then he qualifies this strange position by stating, that Conlaeth was both bishop and abbot. The truth is, that there is no foundation for the existence of any establishment of monks there at that time. Archdall, to patch up the business, has (at

Kildare) made Natfroich the first abbot, although his guide Colgan has no such thing, and never calls him even a *monk*. Natfroich is every where in St. Brigid's Lives called simply a *priest*. (See *Not.* 135.)

(141) For the first time we find St. Aidus both *abbot* and bishop of Kildare, who died in the year 638. (*Tr. Th. p.* 629) The college called of monks, over which Aidus presided, was in reality the chapter of the Cathedral, as plainly appears from Cogitosus, who describing the church tells us, (*cap.* 35) that the bishop used to enter the sanctuary by a door in the right side of the church, together with the collegiate body and clerical assistants (*cum sua regulari schola et his, qui sacris sunt deputati ministeriis*) to immolate the holy and Lord's sacrifice (*sacra et Dominica immolare sacrificia*); while there was another door at the left for the use of the abbess and nuns alone, by which they entered for the purpose of enjoying the banquet of the body and blood of Jesus Christ (*ut convivio corporis et sanguinis fruantur Jesu Christi*). Having happened to make mention of this church, I may add that the great aisle of it outside the sanctuary was divided by a partition separating the males from the females, and that each division had a door peculiar to itself. From what has been now observed we see that the nuns had not a separate church for themselves, although their habitation adjoined it on one side, while that of the bishop and chapter seems to have been close to it on the other. Colgan imagined (*Tr. Th. p.* 627) that both habitations were separated merely by a wall; but the church (and a very large one it was) formed a much wider line of separation.

(142) Colgan endeavoured (*Tr. Th. p.* 627) to support this whimsical and truly uncanonical position by referring to the singular system of the order of St. Birgitta of Sweden, which consists of both males and females, and in which the abbess has a jurisdiction over not only the nuns but even the monks. Colgan took into his head that, as there was an affinity between the names *Brigid* and *Birgit*, their monastic institutions were likewise formed on a similar plan. What has a likeness of names to do in this matter? Besides in the institution of St. Birgitta there was no such thing as jurisdiction over bishops. Colgan ought to have reflected that this Swedish princess most probably knew little or nothing concerning the system of St. Brigid; for at the time of

her forming her establishment, *viz.* not long before A. D. 1370, the nunnery of Kildare was in a state of great insignificance. Archdall has given to his readers in a positive manner what Colgan had proposed as a matter of doubt, and tells them that the abbots of Kildare were for several years subject to the abbess.

(143) The anecdote above mentioned of St. Brigid having given some sacerdotal vestments to the poor shows, that they were considered as belonging to the nunnery.

(144) See *Not.* 141.

(145) Cogitosus writes (*Prolog.*) "Et postea sic unctum caput et principale omnium episcoporum (alluding to Kildare being then the chief see of Leinster) et beatissima puellarum principalis *felici comitatu inter se* et gubernaculis omnium virtutum suam erexit principalem ecclesiam—quam semper Archiepiscopus—et Abbatissa—*felici successione et ritu perpetuo dominantur.*

(146) See Usher, *p.* 900, *seqq.*

§. XII. Iarlath, archbishop of Armagh, who died early in the year 482, (147) was succeeded by Cormac, whom Ware (148) and (Colgan (149) make son of Enda, who is said to have been a brother to king Leogaire. This is, I suspect, a mistake; for Enda's son Cormac, whom his father had entrusted to the care of St. Patrick, (150) is not mentioned in the oldest accounts concerning him as having ever become a bishop, although in the passages relative to him the see of Armagh is particularly spoken of. (151) As to Enda having been a brother of king Leogaire, which I think also a mistake, (152) it is irrelevant to the present subject. The Cormac of Armagh is mentioned in many Irish Calendars, but without the addition of *son of Enda*, which would not have been omitted, were he the same person. For Enda was a chieftain of high consideration; and were it merely to remind the reader of his having consigned his son Cormac to St. Patrick, the authors of these Calendars would have mentioned his name when treating of the archbishop Cormac. This archbishop is distinguished, in the Irish annals, from

many other Cormacs by the addition that he was from the district of *Ernaidhe*. (153) How much more distinct would not his specification have been by marking him the *son of Enda*, had he been such? Ernaidhe was probably some part of the country near Lough Erne or the river of said name, unless it was the same as Ernatia, which seems to have been in the now county of Louth. (154) It was certainly different from the territory, in which Enda lived, *viz.* Usneadh or Usny. (155) Another mistake is, that Cormac had been bishop of Trim, before he was promoted to Armagh. It is true that some writers of our Calendars represent him as such; but it is easy to account for their having done so. There was a Cormac bishop of Trim in the eighth century, whose memory together with that of St. Luman and several others was revered there on the 17th February. (156) Now it happened that this was the very day of the festival or death of Cormac of Armagh; and hence it came to pass that the two Cormacs were confounded together. Then it became necessary to suppose the translation of Cormac from Trim to Armagh, a proceeding which would not have been allowed by the Western church, in the fifth century, without the greatest necessity. Next came another paradox, the burying of Cormac at Trim, because he, who was really bishop of Trim was buried there. Surely the clergy and people of Armagh would not have suffered the remains of their archbishop to be removed to another diocese. The two Cormacs are very clearly distinguished from each other in the Irish Annals. (157) And, what decides the whole question, it is to be observed that Trim was not an episcopal see in the 5th century, and that its first bishop Luman or Loman belonged to the seventh. (158) Cormac, concerning whose transactions I find nothing particular recorded, died on the 17th of February, A. D. 497. (159)

(147) §. 5.

(148) *Bishops* at *Cormac.* I believe he merely followed Colgan.

(149) *Acts of Cormac* at 17 *Feb.* (150) See *Chap.* v. §. 8.

(151) In the Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 18, 19.) where Cormac son of Enda is said to have been consigned to St. Patrick, it is stated that Cormac used to receive from certain bishops, whom St. Patrick had appointed his masters, some cows every all saints' day towards his support; and that, as these were given to him in honour of St. Patrick, their successors used to continue this sort of payment to the see of Armagh after the death of Cormac. But it does not mention Cormac as having been bishop, and gives him no other name or title than that of *Cormac Snithine.* Thus the matter stands in the text as quoted at full length by Colgan at 17 Feb. Yet in his edition of the Tripartite in *Tr. Th.* he has thrown in some words indicating that this Cormac was bishop of Armagh. Instead of, as we read at 17 February, "*Et sic postea haec servitus* (of giving the cows) *eorum ecclesiis adhaesit, donec Nuadhat abbas Ardmachanus*" he swells up the text in *Tr. Th.* with the following words; "Et ille mos postea apud eorum successores transiit in consuetudinem et debitum, ut singuli nempe quotannis *successoribus S. Cormaci* vaccam debeant solvere, donec Nuadhat, &c." He thought that said tribute could not be paid to Armagh, unless Cormac had been bishop there. And then instead of the words, with which at 17 Feb. the text concludes the account of Cormac; "*Cormacus Snithine est nomen hujus filii,* (Would the author have called him merely a *filius*, had he been an archbishop?) Colgan has in *Tr. Th.* "*Sanctus hic Cormacus a loco, ut apparet, educationis cognomento* Snithine *appellatus est.* This is evidently an alteration of the original text. Jocelin, who usually follows the Tripartite, or, at least, certain documents, whence that work was in part derived, has (*cap.* 100) an account of Enda and his consigning Cormac to St. Patrick's care, which account he thus concludes; "S. Patricius baptizavit puerum, educavit, litterisque imbuit. Puer autem aetate, sapientia, et sanctitate crevit; virtutibus atque miraculis clarus in Domino requievit." Would he not have mentioned his having been raised to the primacy of Armagh, if he had known that to have been the case?

(152) See *Not.* 69 to *Chap.* v.

(153) Cormacus *de regione Ernaidhe*, episcopus Ardmachanus. (*AA. SS. p.* 359.)

(154) See *Not.* 84 to *Chap.* VII. I find (*AA. SS. p.* 315) an *Ernaidhe* in Muskerry, co. Cork; but it is not called a district; and besides it is more natural to suppose that Cormac was a native of Ulster rather than of Munster.

(155) See *Chap.* V. §. 8.

(156) *AA. SS. p.* 363. Colgan has the Acts of this Cormac at that day, and strives to distinguish him from an older one, likewise bishop of Trim, as he thought, *viz.* the Cormac who became archbishop of Armagh.

(157) The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 360.) have; "A. 496 (497) Cormacus de *Crich-anernaidhe*, episcopus Ardmachanus, S. Patricii successor, emisit spiritum—A. 741 (742) Cormacus episcopus Athtrumensis decessit."

(158) See *Not.* 35 to *Chap.* V. More will be found lower down.

(159) *Not.* 157. *AA. SS. ad* 17 *Feb.* Usher, *Ind. Chron.* Ware, &c.

§. XIII. During the greatest part of Cormac's incumbency the king of all Ireland was Lugaid or Lugdach, who succeeded Alild Molt in the year 483. (160) He was son to the monarch Leogaire, and, at least, as impious as his father. After a reign of 25 years he was killed in 508 (161) by thunder, as a just judgment for his obstinacy in infidelity and his opposition to the Christian religion. (162) The death of archbishop Cormac was preceded by that of some of our most illustrious prelates. St. Mel of Ardagh died in 488; (163) St. Kienan of Duleek in 489. (164) The last year of St. Maccaleus, who had given the veil to St. Brigid, was A. D. 490. (165) St. Mochay of Antrim survived Cormac; yet only by about four months, as he died on the 23d of June A. D. 497. (166) St. Asicus of Elphin was probably dead by this time; but I cannot find the year of his death, although the day, on which it happened, *viz.* the 27th of April, would seem to have been recorded; if, however, he was the same as Assanus, whose name was affixed to that day. (167) Nor is

it unlikely that Cethecus, Tassach, and perhaps one or two more of our bishops, who had been consecrated in St. Patrick's time, (168) had departed this life before the year now mentioned. Meanwhile other holy men were forming new churches. Munis, a bishop, who is said to have been a Briton and a brother of Mel, (169) is supposed to have founded the church at Forgney in the county of Longford (170) about the year 486. If he had been brother to Mel, that date would answer well enough; but the kindred between them is quite too doubtful to serve as a clue in this matter, being founded merely on the stories concerning their relationship to St. Patrick. There is, however, an argument, which, notwithstanding its being blended with fables, merits some consideration, and helps to fix the time, at which Munis erected his church. It is this, that said church existed before the birth of Kieran of Clonmacnois, (171) and is stated to have been erected 30 years prior to it. (172) Now, as Kieran was born, as is usually supposed, in the year 516, this computation brings us back directly to 486. Of Munis I find nothing else that can be depended upon, except that his festival was affixed to the 18th of December. (173) Another saint is usually joined with Munis, *viz.* Rioch, and, were we to believe the fables about St. Patrick's nephews, also a brother of his and and a son of Darerca. (174) But St. Rioch belongs to the sixth century, having been contemporary with the holy bishop Aedus, who died A. D. 589, (175) and who had visited Rioch in his monastery of Inis-bo-finde in Lough Ree. (176) Is it then to be believed that he was brother to Mel, came with him to Ireland about A. D. 454, was St. Patrick's librarian, made bishop by him, &c. to omit other stuff raked together by Colgan? (177) Towards the later end of the 5th century I find a bishop Cerbanus of Fearta-Cerbain near Tarah, whose death is affixed to A. D. 500. (178) Nothing further is known about him. From his name *Cerban*,

or *Cervan*, perhaps that of Killcarn in Meath has been derived. Could he be the same as Corpain, whom the Annals of Innisfallen call bishop of Iferte, (179) and whose death they assign to the same year, *viz* 500? Iferte is thought to be the country about Ard-fert in Kerry; (180) but that name might have been given also to other places, and bears a strong analogy to that of *Fert* or *Feart-Cerbain*. (181) Were it not for the addition, *near Tarah*, I should be inclined to conclude that Cerbanus was the same person as Corpain, and that Ardfert was his see.

(160) Above §. 5. This is the year assigned by Usher, Ware, &c. Yet Colgan, (*Ind. Chron.* to *Tr. Th.*) following the 4 Masters places the commencement of Lugaid's reign in 478 (479). See *Not.* 65.

(161) Colgan, still adhering to the 4 Masters, has A. D. 503 (504).

(162) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 4. Keating, *B.* 2. *p.* 15. *Ed. A.* 1723. In the Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 67.) it is related, that he was struck immediately after having spoken contemptuously of St. Patrick, and that the place, where this catastrophe occurred, was thence called *Ach-idh-farcha*, the *hill of thunder*. Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p.* 172.) that it was so called in his time, and that it lies in the county of Meath.

(163) *Chap.* VII. §. 5. (164) *Ib.* §. 6.

(165) The 4 Masters (ap. *Tr. Th. p.* 526) have; "A. 489 (490) Maccalle episcopus obiit."

(166) *AA. SS. p.* 189. See more *Not.* 74 to *Chap.* VII.

(167) See Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 114.

(168) See *Chap.* VII. 5, 6, 7.

(169) Munis is reckoned among the pretended nephews of St. Patrick by his sister Darerca (Usher *p.* 825.) I will not trouble the reader with further observations on these fables. (See *Chap.* III. §. 18.)

(170) We read in the Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 2.); "S. Munis episcopus de Forgnuidhe in regione Cuirene, in boreali parte Midiae, ad ripam australem fluminis Ethne (Inny)." Archdall has Forgney in Westmeath, on the supposition that the territory of Cuirene did

not extend beyond the western boundary of that county. But from Forgney having been in that territory, it appears that Cuircne comprized some part of the adjoining county of Longford, in which is Forgney, as it is called to this day, and in the barony of Shrowle (see Seward, *Topogr. Hib.*), through which flows the river Inny.

(171) Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 20 down to 26. Jocelin, *capp.* 113. 114.

(172) Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 266) quotes a passage to this purpose from the Supplement to the Acts of St. Kieran.

(173) In the martyrology of Salisbury it is marked at 6 Feb., and Colgan has given his Acts, such as they are, at that day.

(174) Usher, *p.* 825. Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26, at *Longford.* Colgan, at 6 *Feb.* Bollandus also at same day has admitted these stories.

(175) Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(176) Inis-bo-finde or the *island of the white cow*, is in Lough-Ree, a lake formed by the Shannon between Connaught and the county of Longford. In the Life of St. Aedus, *cap.* 35, (*AA. SS. ad* 28 *Feb.*) we read; "Venit sanctus episcopus Aedus ad insulam Bo-finde, id est, *vaccae albae*, quae est in stagno Righe; et suscepit eum S. Rioch abbas illius loci honorifice. Monasterium enim clarum in illa insula est, quod ex nomine insulae nominatur." There is another island of the same name, or, as now called, Inisboffin, in the ocean off the barony of Morisk, Co. Mayo. Usher (*p.* 825) mistook it for the other, but afterwards (*p.* 1070) corrected himself.

(177) *Ad* 6 *Feb.* Usher saw into these absurdities, and therefore distinguished (*p.* 1045) two Riochs, one the abbot of Inis-bofinde in the sixth century, and the other an older one, *viz.* as he still thought, the nephew of St. Patrick. But in all the stories about Rioch this pretended nephew and the founder of Innis-bofinde are spoken of as the same person.

(178) The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 732) have at A. 499 (500); "S. Cerbanus episcopus de Feart-Cerbain *prope Temoriam* obiit." A holy priest Corbanus is mentioned in the Acts of St. Moctheus (*cap.* 13) who might have become a bishop, and was, in Colgan's opinion, the same as Cerbanus.

(179) "A. 500. Quies Corpain episcopi Iferte."

(180) Harris (Bishops at *Ardfert*) observes that Iferte, or *Hy-*

ferte, signifies the territory of miracles. Ware (Antiq. *cap.* 29) says that *Ardfert* is the *high place of miracles.* If Ardfert was in Iferte, we will have found the first bishop on record in Kerry, viz. Corpain. Yet Ware, who made great use of the Annals of Innisfallen, does not mention him at *Ardfert.*

(181) As *Feart* or *Fert* is an Irish word for *miracle,* we find it applied to several places. *Feart-Cerbain* may be explained *the place of Cerbain's miracle;* in like manner the phrase *bishop of Iferte* may be understood, *bishop of the place of the miracle.*

§. XIV. In the same year (A. D. 500) died on the 23d of April the celebrated St. Ibar of Beg-erin, (182) concerning whom every thing worthy of being recorded has been already related. Before we conclude the account of the 5th century, it must not be forgotten that Cormac, who died A. D. 497, was succeeded at Armagh by Dubtach, or, as some have called him, Duach. (183) Colgan adds to his name *de Druim-dhearbh,* but does not tell us where that place was situated. (184) Little or nothing remains relative to his history except that he governed the see for 16 years, and died in 513. The see of Connor was very probably established before the close of the 5th century; for Aengus Macnisse its first bishop, who had been a disciple of Olcan, (185) did not, at the latest, live beyond the year 514. Ware states that Cailan, whom he supposed first bishop of Down, was contemporary with Macnisse, and that he was raised to that see about the end of the century. (186) Cailan is called also Coelan, and had been abbot at Antrim, (187) perhaps under St. Mochay. Colgan does not, as far as I can discover, speak of Coelan as a bishop. He seems not to have had his Acts, which Usher refers to as *indicating* that from being abbot at Antrim he became bishop of Down. (188) Yet there are strong reasons for believing that he was not at any time a bishop; one of which is that we find him, when far advanced in life, still styled merely *abbot* of Antrim. (189) Or, if he became bishop of Down, he must have been pro-

noted when very old, and undoubtedly not before some time in the sixth century. (190) Yet, whether bishop or not, he may be justly reckoned among the eminent men of the fifth, although he may have lived until about the year 540.

(182) Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(183) Ware *Bishops*—Usher, *Ind. Chron.* &c.

(184) See *Tr. Th. p.* 293. Could it be Derver in the county of Louth, and diocese of Armagh? (185) Above §. 9.

(186) Ware *Bishops* at *Down*, and *Antiq. cap.* 29.

(187) Usher, *p.* 1065, where he is called *Caylanus* or *Coelanus Nendrumensis abbas;* and in *p.* 954. *Coelanus Noendrumensis.* Colgan mentions him (*Tr. Th. p.* 269.) by the name of *Coelanus abbas Aondromensis,* and would fain reckon him among the disciples of St. Patrick. *Noendrumensis* and *Aondromensis* or *Aendrumensis* equally signify his having been of Antrim. The particle *na,* of, is frequently prefixed to the names of places when persons belonging to them are spoken of; and, if followed by a word beginning with a vowel, is contracted into *N.* Harris not knowing this, or not reflecting on it, has given us *(Monasteries)* a Nendrum or Noendrum in Down, as Cailan's monastery, and has been followed by Archdall, who says that it is now unknown. It is no wonder that it should be so, whereas it never existed. Even Usher seemed not to understand the meaning of *Noendrumensis,* for *(p.* 954) he has a *Q. An Edrumensis.* No writer, however, went so much astray on this subject as Alemand, who (*Monast. &c.*) confounded *Noendrum* with *Neddrum,* and hence took occasion to criticize Usher for having placed a monastery at Neddrum, where there was none until late in the 12th century. To understand the subject it is to be observed that the largest of the Copland islands off the coast of Down, *viz.* Big-isle was anciently called Neddrum, John de Courcy having granted the greatest part of the lands, &c. of said island to the monks of St. Mary of York and of St. Bega of Coupland in Cumberland brought over some of these monks and founded for them a cell in Neddrum, to which he assigned lands in Duffren. The deeds may be seen at full length in the *Monasticon Anglicanum, Vol.* II. *p.* 1023. There were two grants, the former of which was to the monks of Coupland or

Copland, and is dated A. D. 1178. The other, in which those of York are included, and the cell of Neddrum is mentioned, bears no date. Ware places the foundation of the cell in 1183, Harris has 1179 or 1183. It is now easy to understand, why the name of *Copland* was given to Neddrum and the adjacent isles. Usher, who was well acquainted with these matters, does not even hint at Neddrum, as the Benedictine establishment there was not formed until some hundreds of years after the period he was treating of.

(188) *Pr. p.* 1065. Usher writes; "Quem actorum ipsius descriptor—Dunensem postea in Ultonia factum fuisse episcopum *significat*." The phrase, *significat*, is rather of a doubtful import.

(189) In the Life of St. Finnian of Maghbile (Moville), who flourished in the middle of the 6th century, it is related that, when a lad, he was sent to the venerable *old man* Coelan *abbot* of Antrim to be instructed by him, and that the latter thought it adviseable to send him to a great monastery in Britain then governed by Nennio. (See *AA. SS.* p. 438 and Usher, *p.* 954.) Now this could not have occurred earlier than A. D. 520, and Usher mentions Coelan as still an abbot in that year. (*Ind. Chron.*)

(190) Coelan was no higher than abbot of Antrim, when Colman of Dromore was a pupil of his. (Usher, p. 1065.) If Colman lived so late as some writers thought, Coelan could not have been a bishop until about the middle of the 6th century. But we shall soon see that Colman lived many years earlier than is usually supposed.

§. xv. Colgan says that Canoc, otherwise Conoc or Mochonoc, founder of the monastery of Gallen in the King's county, flourished about A. D. 492. (191) Hence Ware (192) and after him Harris and others have laid down, that Canoc founded it about that year. He is said to have been a native of Brecknock in Wales but son of an Irish prince called Bracan or Brecan, who settled in that district, and from whom it has got its present name. (193) Brecan is said to have had a great number of children, the eldest of whom is usually stated to have been Conoc. (194) According to one account, Brecan died in the year 450. (195) If so, Conoc might

have become distinguished in the 5th century. But we find a grandson of Brecan fighting battles about 603; (196) and it will not be believed that the grandfather's death could have preceded those battles by more than 150 years; or that Conoc, were he founding monasteries in 492, could have been uncle of a prince, who was able to fight in 603. Accordingly, admitting whatever are told about Conoc's lineage, and his founding the monastery of Gallen, it can scarcely be supposed that he was old enough to be an abbot until towards the middle of the sixth century. (197) Among several persons spoken of, I am sure without sufficient authority, as sons of Brecan and brothers of Conoc I find St. Dabeoc, (198) whose monastery was in an island of Loughderg in Donegall. But there is no proof of this statement, (199) nor of what some late writers have concerning Dabeoc having been contemporary with St. Patrick. (200) Another of the pretended brothers of Conoc is Diradius called of Edardruim; and accordingly an ancient monastery has been assigned to that place, (201) although never mentioned in our history. Then comes another brother St. Mogoroc of Struthuir, (202) concerning whose time nothing certain is known. We have also Carpreus of Kill-chairpre, (203) whose history is still more obscure, although there were several saints of that name. I pass over some other of those pretended sons of Brecan, as I do not find that our compilers of Monasticons have endeavoured to make out monasteries for them.

(191) Canoc's *Acts* at 11 *Feb.* (192) Antiq. *cap.* 26.

(193) David Powel (not Camden, as Colgan says) writes (*Annot. ad Itiner. Cambr. L.* 1. *c.* 2.); "Hic Brechanus natus erat patre Haulapho Hibernorum rege et matre Britannica, nimirum Marcella filia Theodorici filii Tethphalti reguli de Garthmathrin, illius nempe regionis, quae ab hoc Brechano nomen accepit, et hodie *Brechonia* vel *Brechinia* dicitur, Britannice *Brecheinoc.* Hujus

Brechani filia nomine Tydvael uxor fuit Congeni filii Cadelli powisiae reguli, et mater Brochmaeli cognomento Scithroc, qui Ethelfredum Northumbrorum regem ad Devam fluvium interfecit, ejusque copias fudit, circa annum Domini 603."

(194) The Cambrian Biography gives him 24 sons, the eldest of whom was Cynog or Conoc. Others have 12 sons, Conoc the eldest, and 12 daughters. (See Sir R. Colt Hoare's *Notes* to the *Itinerarium Cambriae L.* 1. *c.* 2. and Colgan at 11 *Feb.*) But Giraldus himself, the author of the *Itinerarium*, tells us (*ib.*) that he had 24 daughters all saints. (See also Camden, *Britan. col.* 703.) Aengus Kelideus, quoted by Colgan, reckons ten holy men sons of his, among whom Mochonoc, and who, one only excepted, having come to Ireland, either founded religious houses or led a monastic life. I just mention these things; the reader will judge what credit is due to them. I will merely observe, that several of those pretended sons of Brecan were certainly born in Ireland, and at different periods.

(195) A *MS.* quoted by Sir R. C. Hoare, *loc. cit.*

(196) See *Not.* 193.

(197) Colgan, who seldom stops at anachronisms, thought that Conoc might have been the same as Conan, a priest at the time St. Patrick was in Connaught (see *Chap.* v. §. 10.) and consequently about A. D. 440. We have already (*Not.* 58. to *Chap.* VI.) noticed a mistake of the Tripartite with regard to Conoc and his nephew Cadoc, who, by the bye, seems never to have been in Ireland. (See Cadoc's *Acts* at 24 *Jan.*) Colgan, in the *Tr. Th.* admitted that story of the Tripartite, but has nothing about it in *AA. SS.* Yet in this latter work he gives us (at 11 *Feb.*) a St. Duban as flourishing about A. D. 492, of whom or whose place of abode he knew nothing, except that Aengus Kelideus has among the so called sons of Brecan (*Not.* 194) one Duban *de Rinn-dubhain alithir.* These genealogical accounts, in which some of our old writers so much abound, cannot be depended upon, unless supported by other authority.

(198) Colgan refers (*AA. SS.* p. 312.) to Dabeoc what Aengus Kelideus says of one Mobeoc of *Gleann-geirg.* But surely this is not the same name as *Lough-Derg*, nor is *Dabeoc* the same as *Mobaoc.*

(199) Colgan, notwithstanding his endeavours to make Dabeoc

a son of Brecan, yet quotes an old Hagiology, in which he is called *son of Luinim, the son of Dibracha, of the race of Dichuo*, St. Patrick's first convert. (See *AA. SS.* p. 313.) According to this account Dabeoc was no relative of Canoc, and must have lived long after St. Patrick's time. For Dibracha, his grandfather, is not called son of Dichuo, but said to be a descendant of his; and three or four generations might have elapsed between them.

(200) St. Dabeoc is never mentioned in any of the Lives of St. Patrick. O'Donnel, connecting him with the fable of Patrick's purgatory, was the first who placed him in those early times by introducing him (*Vita S. Columb. L.* 1. *c.* 10.) as prior to Columb-kill. Ware, Harris, and others, were too hasty in assigning the foundation of his monastery to the 5th century.

(201) Harris and Archdall have this unknown monastery in Roscommon, because Colgan says (*AA. SS. p.* 313.) that there was a parish church of that name in the diocese of Elphin. Is every church to be converted into a monastery?

(202) Struthuir or Struthair was near Sletty in the Queen's county, and we find a monastery there in the tenth century. Colgan (*loc. cit.*) knows nothing about a Mogoroc there, but tells us that a saint of that name was revered on the 23d of December in the church of Dergne in the territory *Hy-bruin-chualan*. This was a part of the present county of Wicklow, and it is very odd that he could imagine, that Dergne might be the same place as Struthair. For Dergne, alias *Delgne*, was no other than the present Delgany, and is famous in our history for a great battle, mentioned by Colgan himself from the 4 masters, and by Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 24.), in which Ugair, king of Leinster, totally defeated Sitric and the Danes of Dublin in the year 1022. Archdall, on the supposition that Struthair might have been the same as Dergne, has placed it in Wicklow, although he says that it was near the church of Sletty.

(203) Colgan (*loc. cit.*) threw out a conjecture that this church was in the county of Sligo. Hence Archdall has a monastery so called, and founded, he says, about A. D. 500. (See at *Sligo.*)

§. XVI. St. Fortchern, who is said to have been bishop of Trim, should be placed in the 5th century, and even in St. Patrick's time, were we to believe

Jocelin, (204) and the Tripartite, (205) They make him son of Feidlemid prince of the country about Trim (206) a son of king Leogaire. (207) He is stated to have been with many others a disciple of St. Luman of Trim ; and this is sufficient to show that he did not live so early, whereas Luman belonged to the seventh century, in which several of Fortchern's fellow-students are placed even by Colgan. (208) Accordingly there is no foundation for assigning the establishment of the church of Kill-fortchern, (209) to the 5th century; at least if this be the St. Fortchern, from whom it got its name, which I think very doubtful. Another establishment, which ought not to have been placed in said period, is that of Kilconnel in the county of Galway. (210) The arguments adduced by Colgan for this high antiquity are of little or no weight, (211) and one of them proves the contrary of his position. (212) Some other foundations have been assigned to the 5th century, without the least appearance of probability, and in direct opposition to the whole tenour of Irish history. (213) As therefore this is not the proper place for inquiring about them, I will conclude this chapter with observing, that St. Fridolinus called the *traveller*, and who founded some churches in the Continent, did not, as some writers assert, (214) flourish as early as the year 495. It will be seen elsewhere, that he lived about 200 years later.

(204) *Cap.* 52. (205) *L.* 2. *c.* 1.

(206) See *Not.* 35. to *Chap.* v.

(207) Notwithstanding this royal descent I find in the Tripartite *(L.* 3. *c.* 98.*)* St. Fortchern *de Rathaidme* blacksmith to St. Patrick.

(208) See at 17 Feb. where he has Lomán, Fortchern, and many others of those disciples.

(209) Kill-fortchern was in Idrone (county of Carlow) and is mentioned in the Calendars. Colgan calls it merely a church.

Archdall has it among the monasteries. Neither Ware nor Harris make mention of it.

(210) Kill-chonail, now Kilconnel, was in the district of Hymaine, and got its name from a St. Conal, who is supposed to have been a bishop. Colgan has his Acts at 18 March.

(211) Scarcely any thing is known about Conal, except that he is spoken of in the Acts of St. Attracta (at 9 Feb.) as a brother of hers, and is there said to have had a church at Droma. Now Colgan himself doubts whether Droma was the same place as Kilconnel. Colgan's most plausible argument is founded upon a curious passage, which Usher found annexed to an old copy of Irish canons, (see *Pr. p.* 1049) in which St. Patrick is said to have reproved Conal and Ethian for having ordained unworthy bishops in Magh-ai (Roscommon), and to have denounced to them, that their churches would be always insignificant. But who can depend upon such stories, which were fabricated at a time when churches were wealthy in Ireland, and which do not agree with their situation in St. Patrick's days? A similar story is told in the Tripartite (*L.* 2. *c.* 123.); the scene is placed likewise in Connaught, but the guilty bishops are said to have been Mac-carthen of Clogher, and a pretended brother of his, also called Maccarthen; the saint is made to foretell that their sees would be unhappy, and particularly that of the latter, who was the more guilty of the two; for it should be neither powerful nor rich; "*potentia et divitiis carebit.*" Jocelin has (*cap.* 123 the same story, but with some variations, and without mentioning names. It is unnecessary to prove, that St. Patrick never announced such judgments as these, and it would be ridiculous to infer from such grounds, that Conal was a bishop in his time. By *Ethian* was probably meant Etchen, a holy prelate of the sixth century, and who certainly was not guilty of the charge brought against him in that story. We will meet with him hereafter. As to Conal, there were many saints of that name; and from one of them Kilconnel was so called; but whether from its having been the place of his residence or from a church there dedicated in his name, cannot be determined. And supposing even that it was Conal's own church, Harris and Archdall ought not to have assigned the foundation of it to the fifth century, nor much less to the time of St. Patrick.

(212) Colgan observes that Conal is said to have been a brother

of St. Attracta, whom he supposed contemporary with St. Patrick. It will, however, be seen that this saint lived either in the sixth or seventh century.

(213) Harris is shamefully incorrect in this respect. *Ex. c.* he places in the fifth century a monastery in Inismore founded by S. Columba, although he could not but have known, that Columba was born in the sixth. In like manner he assigns to the same period foundations by St. Iarlath of Tuam and St. Senan of Iniscatthy notwithstanding its being indubitable that they belonged to the following century. One would imagine that Harris sometimes reckoned the centuries in Dr. Ledwich's manner, (see *Chap.* II. §. XIV.) and that he understood the time elapsed between A. D. 500 and 600 by the name of the *fifth*.

(214) Colgan has the Acts of Fridolin at 6 *Mart.* Ware following Possevin *(Appar Sac.)* and some German authors says *(Writers)*, that he lived in the year 495. Colgan endeavoured to maintain this date, and Harris left it uncontradicted.

CHAPTER IX.

Establishment of the Irish or Scots in North Britain—Colman a bishop—Colman of Dromore—Caylan abbot of Antrim—Monastery of Locha founded—St. Maccarthen of Clogher—St. Tigernach of Clogher, stiled Ferdachrioch—Murchertach Mac Erca monarch of Ireland—Gildas taught at Armagh—Death of several bishops—Ailill succeeds Dubtach in see of Armagh—St. Sinell or Senchell—Natalis abbot of Kilmanagh—St. Sinan of Iniscatthy—Abbot Cassidan—Death of Conlaeth bishop of Kildare—Nennidh Lamh-ghlan—St. Nennidh Laobhdearc—Death of St. Brigid—Birth of St. Columbkill—St. Derlugdach successor of St. Brigid—Death of St. Ailbe of Emly—And of St. Declan—Ultan succeeds Declan as abbot—School of Clonard—St. Finnian—Muiredach prince of Hykinselagh—Enquiry into the times of St. David,

Gildas, and Canoc—Paul the hermit—St. Carneeh—Death of Muirchertach monarch of Ireland—Death of Ailild archbishop of Armagh—Tigernach of Clones—Lugadius bishop of Conor—St. Moctheus of Louth.

SECT. I.

WE are now arrived at the sixth century, a period in which the Christian religion became almost universal throughout Ireland, and in which our country could boast of many very holy and learned persons, who have been ornaments not only of the Irish, but of the whole Christian church. The early part of this age forms a remarkable epoch in the history of the British islands; for the year 503 was that of the regular establishment of the Irish or Scots in North Britain under Loarn son of Erk, and the first year of the new Scottish kingdom out of Ireland. (1) These settlers were Christians, and it is said that one of them, Fergus, brother and successor to Loarn, had when young been blessed by St. Patrick, who foretold that his posterity would enjoy sovereign power. (2)

Usher states, that a bishop Colman, by whom Finnian (of Maghbile) was first instructed, flourished in the beginning of this century. (3) He does not tell us where he was bishop, but plainly distinguishes him from Colman of Dromore, whom he assigns to a later period, (4) in consequence of having confounded him with Colmanel of Muckmore, (5) a mistake, in which he has been followed by Ware and others. (6) But from the very documents referred to by Usher it is evident, that Finnian's first master was no other than Colman of Dromore, and that he was eminent in the early part of the sixth century. We have seen that Finnian, after having been under the care of bishop Colman, was sent to Caylan abbot of Antrim. (7) Colman of Dromore had been him-

self a pupil of Caylan, (8) and consequently some years before Finnian was recommended to the latter, most probably by Colman himself, then a bishop, and who must have been very intimate with Caylan. Colman having received the rudiments of learning from Caylan was sent to study the Scriptures under Ailbe of Emly, perhaps about the year 500, and afterwards by advice of Macnisse, bishop of Conor, erected a noble monastery on the bank of the river *Locha*, (9) that is, the Lagan, which flows through Dromore. This monastery must have been founded before the end of A. D. 514, in which, at the latest, Macnisse died. (10) Hence it appears that the see of Dromore is more ancient than commonly supposed, and that Colman flourished not in the late but in the early part of the sixth century. He was of a Dalaradian family and therefore a native of the territory, in which his see was situated. The year of his promotion to the episcopacy is unknown, as also that of his death. (11) His festival is kept on the 7th of June.

(1) See *Not.* 29 to *Chap.* 1. To what has been there observed add that some of our old historians mark the date of this establishment by placing it 20 years after the battle of Ocha, in which Alild Molt was killed. (See Usher *p.* 1029.) That battle was fought in 483. (*Chap.* VIII. §. 5.) The notation of 20 years between the two events shows at the same time, that the 4 Masters and Colgan were wrong in affixing the battle to A. D. 478 (479), whereas it is universally agreed on, that the Scottish establishment under Loarn commenced in 503. From that mistake flowed others, as to the years in which some of our kings either began or ceased to reign.

(2) Tripart. *L.* 2. *c.* 135. and Jocelin *c.* 137.

(3) *Ind. Chron.* ad *A.* 500. (4) *Ibid.* ad *A.* 550.

(5) Jocelin has (*cap.* 96.) a prophecy of St. Patrick concerning Colmanel of Muckmore. He has another (*cap.* 98.) concerning Comgall of Bangor, in which his birth after 60 years is foretold. It is known that Comgall was born A. D. 516. Jocelin says

nothing about the number of years that were to elapse between the prophecy concerning Colmanel and his birth. But it seems that in some accounts the 60 years in the case of Comgall were extended also to that of Colmanel. Hence Usher, having confounded Colmanel with Colman of Dromore, affixes the birth of the latter to *A. D.* 516 (*Ind. Chron.* see also *ad* A. 456), and the foundation of his monastery to 550 (*ib.*)

(6) Ware (*Bishops*, and *Ant. cap.* 29.) agrees with Usher. And elsewhere (*Writers*) he brings down Colman of Dromore to the seventh century, in consequence of a story concerning a Colman having been consecrated at Rome by Gregory the great. This was the same person as Colman Ela or Colmanel, whom Jocelin in the prophecy alluded to (*Not. prec.*) represents as to become in course of time Apostolic legate in Ireland, and whom Colgan distinguishes by that title (third Index, *Tr. Th.* and *AA. SS.*) assigning his death to A. D. 610 (*AA. SS. p.* 247.). Colgan, however, did not confound this so called Apostolic legate with Colman of Dromore; for he not only expressly speaks of them as distinct persons (*Tr. Th. p.* 113. *Not.* 106 and 3d *Ind.*), but even reckons Colman of Dromore among the disciples of St. Patrick (*ib. p.* 269), and accordingly as very different from a man said to have been born in 516, and whose death he placed in 610. Yet, through a sort of negligence very usual with Colgan, he quotes (*AA. SS. p.* 191) without any observation a passage from Usher, in which Colman of Dromore is confounded with Colmanel. Harris, who has the same confusion at *Bishops* and *Writers*, distinguished them at *Monasteries*. Archdall (at *Muckamore*) has jumbled them together.

(7) *Not.* 189 to *Chap.* VIII. (8) Usher, *p.* 1065.

(9) Usher, *ib.*

(10) It is very strange that Usher has, by mere conjecture, affixed (*Ind Chron.*) the erection of this monastery to A. D. 550. He seems to have paid no attention to the date of Macnisse's death, although he had before him the Annals of Innisfallen, which assign it to as early as the year 506 (507). He also confounded (*Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 550 compared with *A.* 456) the monastery near the Locha, *viz.* of Dromore, with that of Muckmore, a place in the county of Antrim; and hence Harris very wisely and after him Archdall assign the foundation of Muckmore to about 550. But

of Muckmore and Colmanel more will be found in the proper place.

(11) Harris's conjectures as to A. D. 600 or 610 are quite nugatory. These dates refer to other Colmans, who lived later. The confounding together various persons of that name is not a late error. Ware *(Writers)* refers to a Life of Colman of Dromore, in which Columb-kill is introduced as prophecying concerning him. Now, unless we are to reject what is related of his education under Caylan and Ailbe, and his connexion with Macnisse, Colman was prior to Columkill by many years. We know that the latter had some transactions with Colmanelo; and hence, I believe, the mistake has proceeded.

§. II. St. Maccarthen of Clogher, whose history I have been obliged to anticipate, (12) died, as already stated, in the year 506; and, as some say, on the 24th of March. (13) He was succeeded by St. Tigernach, who fixed his see or residence at Cluancois (Clunes or Clones) in the county of Monaghan, (14) still retaining the government of the church of Clogher, for which reason he was surnamed *Ferdachrioch*, (15) or the *man of two districts*. He is said to have been of a princely family, grandson, by his mother, of a king Echodius, and to have had St. Brigid for godmother, through whose recommendation he was raised to the episcopal dignity. (16) He had received his clerical education, as we are told, in the monastery of Rosnat in Great Britain under the holy abbot Monennus, (17) and, it seems founded that of Clones before he was appointed bishop. Following the order of time, the next remarkable event we meet with is the death of Lugaid, king of all Ireland, in the year 508, (18) after which there was an interregnum of about five years, (19) at the expiration of which in 513 Murchertach son of prince Muredach and great grandson of Niell Naoigiallagh (20) was raised to the throne. (21) He is usually surnamed *Mac Erca* from his mother Erca, who was a daughter of Loarn (22) the first chieftain of the Irish

who, as above stated, formed the great settlement in North Britain. She was a christian and had some saints among her nephews. (23) It is probable that also Muredach her husband was one. King Murchertach their son was undoubtedly a Christian; (24) and he is the first of our monarchs, whom we can with certainty consider worthy of that glorious name. He is represented as a good and pious sovereign. His reign continued until the year 533, or, as others say, 534. (25) I find another occurrence, worthy to be recorded, if true, assigned to the same year 508, *viz.* the return of Gildas, after having taught for some time at Armagh, to his own country, Britain. (26) This position is at best but an hypothesis, connected with another, which I believe cannot be maintained, concerning this Gildas having been different from, and many years prior to, Gildas the historian. (27) An opportunity will soon occur for inquiring into this subject. In the course of a few years, subsequent to the last mentioned, several of our prelates departed this life; Bron, bishop of Cassel-irra in 512 on the 8th of June; (28) Dubtach, archbishop of Armagh in 513; (29) Ercus of Slane in 514, (30) to which year some of our Annalists assign also the death of Aengus Macnisse bishop of Connor, while others place it in 507. (31) Whichever was the year of his departure from this life, the day, on which he died, was the third of September. (32) Some others of the more ancient Irish bishops were undoubtedly dead by the times we are now treating of; but the years of their demise are not known. Amidst this vacuum in our history nothing appears to me so singular as that the year, in which the celebrated Fiech of Sletty died, has not been recorded. (33) Yet the memory of the day of his death has been preserved; as we find his *Natalis* assigned to the 12th of October. (34)

(12) Chap. vi. §. 12.

(13) Usher, p. 856. There is a diversity of dates with regard to this matter. (See *Ind. Chron.* ad A. 506 and Colgan, *AA. SS.* at *Maccarthen* 24 *Mart.*)

(14) Usher *p.* 856. Ware, *Bishops.*

(15) The Calendar of Cashel has *(ap AA. SS. p.* 740.*)*; "S. Ferdachricus episcopus de Clochar, *post* episcopum Maccarthenum." Now all accounts agree that the real name of Maccarthen's successor was *Tigernach*, and that *Ferdachriock* was merely a surname, which agreed very well with the circumstances, in which Tigernach was placed, but did not suit Maccarthen, to whom some persons have erroneously applied it. (See *Not.* 132 to *Chap.* VI.) Harris has *(Bishops* at *Clogher)* on this point puzzled himself and his readers to no purpose. His mistake with regard to it is excusable; but not so his saying that Tigernach might have been the same as Tigernach bishop of Clonmacnois. There was no religious establishment, either see or monastery, at Clonmacnois until the year 548; while our Tigernach was bishop at Clones since 506. Nor was there any Tigernach of Clonmacnois in those ancent times. Harris confounded *Cluan-eois* with *Clonmacnois*, and applied to the latter what belonged to the former. Thus (at *Bishops*, *Clonmacnois)* he has a pretended bishop Tigernach in that place, for whom he quotes the 4 Masters. Now the 4 Masters knew nothing about such a person, but they write: "An. 548 (549) St. Tigernac, bishop of *Cluaineois*, died on the 4th of April." *(AA. SS. p.* 191 and 439.*)* This passage bewildered Harris, who has given us these dates, &c. at *Clonmacnois.* He ought to have known that the Irish Annalists, when treating of Clones, write *Cluain-eois*, *Cluain-eosensis*; whereas they express Clonmacnois by *Cluain-mhic-nois* or simply *Cluan*, whence *Cluanensis.* We find both places and names clearly distinguished in a passage of our Annals (*AA. SS. p.* 150), in which it is stated that in the year 548 (549) a great plague carried of Kieran *Cluanensis* (of Clonmacnois) and Tigernach *Cluaincosensis* (of Clones) the very person whom we are now treating of. Archdall, in obedience to Harris, brings in a Tigernach at Clonmacnois, but different, he adds, from the one of Clogher, and makes him succeed Kieran. All stuff! There was no abbot or bishop Tigernach there in those days.

(16) *Tr. Th. p.* 605. If this narrative deserves credit, we must

suppose that St. Brigid's standing as godmother for Tigernach was in her younger days, and, at least 30 years before A. D. 506. On this occasion it is observed that whoever was recommended for the episcopacy by St. Brigid, was immediately approved of and chosen by the clergy and people. (Compare with what has been said about Conlaeth of Kildare *Chap.* VIII. §. 10.)

(17) Colgan, *AA. SS.* at *Monennus* 1 *Mart.* This Monennus was undoubtedly the same person as Nennio abbot and bishop of what was called the *great monastery* in Britain, and to whom Cailan of Antrim is said to have sent Finnian of Maghbile. (See Usher, *p.* 954.) *Mo* is merely the prefix indicating affection. Colgan would fain make him the same as Moena, who died bishop of Clonfert in the year 571. But how could a man, who had been a bishop in Britain before Tigernach became one in 506, be supposed to have lived to so late a period? Besides, the names are plainly different. Others have foolishly confounded him with Nennius, the British historian, who lived in the 9th century. Where was that monastery of Rosnat? Neither the Monasticon Anglicanum, Stevens, Tanner, Nasmith, nor Camden have, as far as I could discover, a word about it, although it is often mentioned in the Acts of some Irish saints. In those of Tigernach, quoted by Colgan (*ib.*) it is observed that it was otherwise called *Alba*, or *white*. Colgan hence concludes that it was no other than the famous monastery of Bangor or Banchor near the river Dee a few miles from Chester, and which must be carefully distinguished from the present episcopal town Bangor, which lies far to the West of where the monastery stood. (See Usher, *p.* 133.) His chief argument is that *Ban*, in Irish, signifies *white*, and so *Ban-chor* was the same as *white choir*. But, waving certain doubts concerning said monastery having existed at that early period, it is to be recollected that *Ban* has not that signification in the British language, which is that to be looked to in this inquiry. I suspect that Rosnat or *Alba* was the celebrated see called *Candida casa* or *White house*, now Whithorn. (See *Not.* 149. to *Chap.* I.) The illustrious Ninia or Ninian had founded that see early in the 5th century, and there can be no doubt of an ecclesiastical school having been established there. (See Usher, *p.* 661. *seqq.*) When we read of Nennio being the bishop, to whom some Irish students were sent, this, I believe, must be understood as originally mean-

ing that they were sent to the school held in the see of Nennio or Ninia, who was dead before Tigernach or Finnian could have repaired thither. And in fact Finnian's master is called *Mugentius*, and what is very remarkable, the place *Candida* (*AA. SS. p.* 634). The master of Endeus of Arran, who is also said to have been at that school, is called not Nennio but Mansenus. Let me add that Candida casa lay very convenient for students from the North of Ireland; and it is worth observing, that of those, who are spoken of as having studied at Rosnat or *Alba*, scarcely one is to be found that was not a native of Ulster. There is a village and parish in Dumbartonshire, called *Roseneath*, anciently *Rossnachoich*, (*Stat. Acct. of Scotland, Vol.* IV. *p.* 71.) But there is no mention of a monastery having been there.

(18) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 13.

(19) Usher *p.* 947. Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 4. O'Flaherty *Ogyg. Part.* III. *c.* 93.

(20) *Tr. Th. p.* 447 from the 4 masters.

(21) Usher and O'Flaherty, *loc. cit.* &c. The 4 Masters and Colgan follow a different line of chronology. In consequence of their having (erroneously I believe) assigned the battle of Ocha to 478 (479, see above *Not.* 1.) they make the 25 years of Lugadius end in 503 (504). Then they allow no interregnum, and immediately introduce Muchertach as king in said year.

(22) *AA. SS. p.* 690. (23) *Ib. p.* 782.

(24) *Ib. p.* 679 and elsewhere *passim*.

(25) Usher and Ware have A. D. 534; O'Flaherty 533, observing that Murchertach did not reign full 21 years, but only somewhat more than 20; so that, counting from A. D. 513, his demise fell within 533. The 4 Masters and Colgan (*Ind. Chron. to Tr. Th.*) beginning his reign in 504 (see *Not.* 21) allows him near 24 years, and so place his death in 528, or as they call it, 527. I believe Usher and O'Flaherty's calculations are more correct.

(26) Usher *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 508. Colgan *AA. SS. p.* 190.

(27) Usher has exerted all his ingenuity to support this hypothesis. He calls the Elder Gildas *Albanius* and the latter *Badonicus*.

(28) *Tr. Th. p.* 176. Concerning Bron see *Chap.* VII. §. 6. and VIII. §. 11.

(29) Usher *Ind. Chron.* Ware, *Bishops;* to whom the sapient Harris adds, that the 4 Masters place Dubtach's death in the year 512. Did he not know, that 512 was the same with them as 513 with others? Colgan mentions (*Tr. Th. p.* 293.), that Dubtach's memory was revered on the 5th of February, or 7th of October. See more above, *Chap.* VIII. §. XIV.

(30) Usher *Ind. Chron.* The 4 Masters have A. 512 (513). Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p.* 20) that in the old Calendars Ercus is treated of at 2d October and 2d November. See more *Chap.* VII. §. VII.

(31) The Annals of Innisfallen have; "506 (507) Quies Macnisse Condire." Ware following these Annals has (*Ant. cap.* 29) the year 507. Harris with his usual sagacity observes (*Bishops* at *Connor*); that this date does not agree with that of the Innisfallen Annals, which have 506. But Ware knew what Harris did not, *viz.* that said 506 was the same as our 507. Archdall (at *Connor*) left A. 506, as he found it. But Ware (in *Bishops*) adds that, according to some, Macnisse died A. 514. He alluded to the 4 Masters and Colgan, who have (*Ad. SS. p.* 190) A. D. 513 (514).

(32) Ware *Ant. cap.* 29 and *Bishops.* Here again Harris comes forward with a correction of Ware, and quotes Colgan as saying, that Macnisse died on the 3d of November 513. As to 513, it was the same as Ware's 514; but the variation *November* for *September* was owing to a mere error of the press, (at *Ad. SS. p.* 190) a circumstance quite common in Colgan's work. Elsewhere he has *third of September* (*ib. p.* 377.) to which day he refers for the Acts of Macnisse. (See *Chap.* VIII. §. 14.)

(33) Colgan would wish to make us believe, that Fiech lived until about the middle of the sixth century. His argument, were it of any weight, would prolong Fiech's life until the tenth. It is this. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, which Colgan most strangely imagined to have been written about A. D. 550, there is a passage, (*L.* 1. *c.* 61.) in which Fiech is spoken of with this addition; "*Qui hodie in Ecclesia Sleptensi est.*" Hence Colgan concluded (*Tr. Th p.* 169) that Fiech was alive when that work was written, a work not earlier than the 10th century. (See *Chap.* III. § IV.) But, as I have often observed, phrases of this sort are either to be understood relatively to the mortal remains of the per-

sons mentioned being in the places spoken of, or are to be considered as quotations from older documents. Harris adds to Ware's account of Fiech *(Writers)*, that he died early in the sixth century. He has not given, nor could he, any authority for this assertion, although it is not improbable that Fiech lived until about A. D. 500. (See *Chap.* VI. §. 5. and VII. §. 5.)

(34) *Tr. Th. p.* 7.

§. III. Dubtach was succeeded in the see of Armagh by Ailill or Ailild, (35) who is said to have been the son of a chieftain named Trichem, the pretended father of Dichuo St. Patrick's first convert, thus making Dichuo and Ailill brothers, as if we could be brought to believe, that a man, who in the year 432 had a settled family (36) and was then, in all probability, not less than 40 years of age, could have a brother capable of undertaking the duties of episcopacy in 513. And as to his princely extraction there is no foundation for it, except the confounding together different persons of the same name; nor is there any reason to make us admit, that even Dichuo was of a princely family. (37) The fact is that Ailill the archbishop was not, at least nearly, connected with Dichuo, and that nothing more can be ascertained concerning his origin than that he was a native of Claubrassil, (38) a district far distant from Leeale, in which Dichuo's family resided. The mistake now pointed at is blended with another, according to which our Ailill has been confounded with Ailill called of Maghbile; (39) and who is reckoned among the sons of prince Trichem. This Ailill was the grandfather of St. Finnian of Maghbile, and remained, I believe, always a layman. From this confusion has been derived the opinion, that Ailill of Armagh had been married before he took holy orders; (40) for which there is no other foundation than the having jumbled together into one two very different persons, and who lived at different periods. Among the distinguished men of these

times we must place St. Sinell or Senchell who has without sufficient foundation, as elsewhere observed, (41) been said to have been St. Patrick's first convert in Ireland. He was the son of Kemfinnain and grandson of Imchad or Finenada of the royal blood of Leinster. (42) It is related that St. Ailbe of Emly presented him with a cell, in which he had lived himself for some time, at Cluain-Damh (Clane co. Kildare). The time of this donation is not mentioned; but it might have been about A. D. 500. (43) Nor is it known how long Sinell remained there. We find him afterwards at Killeigh, (44) where he established a monastery, which, in course of time, became very celebrated. According to some accounts he was raised to the episcopacy. To distinguish him from another Sinell, a relative of his and a priest, who lived with him at Killeigh, he is usually styled *Senior*. (45) Having lived to a good old age he died on the 26th of March, A. D. 549. (46) I find it mentioned, but on no authority, that Lugadius, an abbot of Drumshallon, who is said to have been son to king Aengus of Cashel, died in the year 515 or 516. (47) There is no certain account of that monastery having existed at this early period; (48) and as to the honour of having been a son of Aengus, it has been paid to so many persons that, unless such a claim be much better authenticated than it is in the present case, we may safely reject it. (49)

(35) Usher, *p.* 874, Ware, &c. &c. Colgan has at 13 *January* a strange incoherent medley, which he calls the Acts of St Alild.

(36) See *Chap.* v. §. 2.

(37) See *Not.* 17 to *Chap.* v. Ware has followed Colgan only so far as to call Ailill son of Trichem, a prince of East Ulster, but has nothing about Dichuo, &c. Colgan tells us that Trichem was of the illustrious house of the Dalfiatachs. Harris adhering more closely to Colgan, makes Alild one of the six so called sons

of Trichem, of whom Dichuo was said to be one, and in like manner reckons him among the disciples of St. Patrick.

(38) The four Masters have *(ap. Tr. Th. p. 293)*; "S. Alildus Ep. Ardmach. de gente de *Hi Bressail*;" *i. e.* Clanbrassil in the county of Armagh. Colgan (at 13 *January*) strives to reconcile this with his assumption that Alild was son of the great dynast Trichem by saying, that the Hi Bressail sept was a branch of the Dalfiatachs. This is a pitiful evasion. If Alild was a son of Trichem who was of the great and right line of the Dalfiatachs, he would not have been placed in the distant and minor branch of the Hi Bressail.

(39) *Tr. Th.p.* 110. Maghbile, now Movill, is in the barony of Ardes, county of Down. It was the residence of said Alild, who must therefore have been different from the bishop Alild as being from Clanbrassil.

(40) Colgan at 13 *January*. Harris has in a most barefaced manner perverted Colgan's meaning on this subject. He makes him say that Ailill put away his wife before his taking holy orders. Now Colgan's statement is that the wife was dead before he became a clergyman. His words are "*Ab uxoris lege solutus* (Alidus)," &c. He took this phrase from St. Paul, who uses it, (according to the Vulgate translation) where he declares that, in case of the husband's death, a woman may marry again. "Nam quae sub viro est mulier *vivente viro, alligata est legi*; si autem *mortuus* fuerit vir ejus, *soluta est a lege viri*." *Rom.* VII. 2. Thus the words used by Colgan necessarily presuppose the death of the wife, and form a scholastic manner of speaking on this point. Harris then goes on to show that the Irish clergy were not bound to celibacy in those times. Whatever may be said as to certain orders of the clergy, of which elsewhere, this much I do assert, that in the whole history of the ancient Irish church there is no instance of any bishop having been exempt from that law. I mean real bishops and regularly consecrated; for I know that in times of confusion certain persons, not consecrated, had, in consequence of having seized on the church property, got themselves called *bishops*.

(41) *Chap.* V. §. I.

(42) *Ib. Not.* 9. and *Tr. Th. p.* 18. I have touched on this genealogy merely to show that the Sinell, who, it was pretended,

had been converted by St. Patrick, was no other than the abbot Sinell, of whom we are now treating. Colgan (*loc. cit.*) represents said Sinell as the son of Kennfinain, who, as all accounts agree, was father of the abbot, and is so spoken of by Colgan himself in Sinell's Acts at 26 *Mart.* But, as it appeared from these Acts that Sinell could scarcely have been born at the time of his pretended conversion by St. Patrick, Colgan *there* studiously omitted any mention of it.

(43) Harris *(Monasteries)* by mere conjecture assigns the foundation of the monastery of Cluain-Damh to the 5th century. As Sinell lived to a great age and died in 549, he might have been in that place before 500. But there was no permanent monastery at Clane; and whatever establishment Sinell had there ceased with his removal elsewhere. Ware, who searched only for permanent monasteries, which he has done with great judgment, does not mention any at Clane. It is not easy to understand, how Ailbe could have resided for any time in that place. Perhaps he had there what we would call a lodge, to serve for occasional retirement from the labours of the episcopacy, or as a resting place in journeys to or from Armagh, or other places where bishops might have occasion to assemble together.

(44) It is in the King's county, and is called, in Irish, *Killachuidh Drumfada.*

(45) Colgan (at 26 *Mart.*) quotes the following passage from the litanies of Aengus Kelideus; "Centum et quinquaginta monachos sanctos cum duodecim peregrinis, qui cum S. Senchello *seniore episcopo*, et S. Senchello *juniore* presbytero—habitarunt in ecclesia de Killachuidh-Drumfoda in Hyfalgia, invoco in auxilium meum, per Jesum Christum, &c."

(46) The Annals of Ulster quoted by Ware (*Ant cap.* 26 at *King's co.*) and the 4 Masters *(ap. AA. SS. loc. cit.)* have; "A 548 S. Senchellus senior filius Cennannani (Kennfinani) abbas, de Kill-achuidh, &c. obiit die 26 Martii." Their A. D. 548 is the same as 549. Archdall *(at Clane)* retains 548; but (*at Killeigh*) he makes Sinell live until 550. Where he got this date, or his account of Sinell's having died of the plague I do not know. Ware, whom he refers to, has no such thing.

(47) Archdall at *Drumshallon.* Where he found this piece of information, I cannot discover. Colgan, making mention of this

Lugadius, (*AA. SS. p.* 169) does not tell us at what time he died.

(48) The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick has (*L. 2. c.* 12) the *church* of Druim-inis-clain (Drumshallon) as erected by him; and hence Harris and Archdall attribute the foundation of the monastery there to St. Patrick. But we have often seen what little reliance is to be placed on that work with regard to the origin of religious establishments. And in the case now before us, were we to receive its authority, it would follow that said church was created soon after the commencement of the saint's mission (see *Chap.* v. §. 8.), and at a time when the number of Christians was quite too small to make us admit the foundation of the many churches, which it assigns to that period. The first abbot of Drumshallon to be met with, concerning whom no doubt can be entertained, was St. Ronan, who died of the great plague in the year 665. (*AA. SS. p.* 141.)

(49) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 8. There have been several distinguished persons of the name of *Lugadius* in the 6th, 7th, and following centuries. One of them might have been at Drumshallon.

§. IV. It is more probable, although far from being certain, that Natalis or Naal, abbot of Kilmanagh, (50) who began to be distinguished about these times, was a son of king Aengus. (51) Little or nothing would be known concerning him, were he not highly praised in the Lives of St. Senan of Iniscatthy, who, when young, was a pupil of his, having been directed to his monastery and school by the abbot Cassidus. (52) Senan's younger days belonged to the early part of the sixth century, and accordingly this was the period, in which Natalis flourished. What time he died I cannot discover, unless we should apply to him what is said of a Naal of Invar-Naal (in Donegal) whose death is assigned to A. D. 564. (53) His memory was revered at Kilmanagh on the 31st of July. (54) Having now made mention of Senan, it will not be amiss to

touch upon in this place the first part of the history of so very eminent a saint. It is related, as already seen, (55) that St. Patrick, being near the Shannon in some part of the now county of Limerick about, it seems, the year 448, foretold the birth and future greatness of Senan. One account, which appears tolerably correct, gives 40 years (56) between the prophecy and Senan's birth. Thus we may suppose that he was born about A. D. 488, a date sufficiently agreeing with the real series of the transactions of his life, but not reconcileable with some unchronological fables concerning him. Not to enlarge on that of his having succeeded, and immediately, St. Patrick in the see of Armagh, (57) this narrative, whether such a prophecy was pronounced or not, proves that, as Senan came into the world late in the 5th century, he could not have founded the abbey of Iniscathy prior to St. Patrick's arrival in Munster, as some of our historians have foolishly stated. (58) It shows also that even Ware was mistaken in assigning the foundation of that abbey to the 5th century. (59) Senan was a native of Corco-baskind, a district in the western part of Thomond. (60) His parents were Christians and noble. Ergind, or Ercan, his father, is said to have been of the royal blood of Conary I. formerly monarch of Ireland. Coemgella, his mother, was likewise of an illustrious Munster family. The very place of his birth is mentioned, *viz.* Magh-lacha, where his father had one of his residences. (61) When arrived at a certain age, he was forced by the dynast of Corco-baskin to join in an expedition undertaken against the territory of Corcomroe for the purpose of carrying off plunder. (62) A proceeding of this sort did not accord with the pious disposition of young Senan; and accordingly he contrived to avoid taking any share in the devastation of that country. God rewarded him for his christian behaviour; for, when the party to

which he belonged, was routed with great loss, and he had fallen into the hands of their opponents, he was allowed to depart without injury, and to go whithersoever he pleased. This, and some other circumstances, which afterwards occurred, induced him to determine on renouncing the world. (63) He therefore placed himself under the abbot Cassidan, and having received from him the monastic habit, became in some time a great proficient in piety and ecclesiastical learning. (64) Next he repaired, as above mentioned, to the monastery of the most holy and learned Natalis, with whom he spent, perhaps, some years. Thence he went to visit other holy persons; but in the account given of these visits some anachronisms occur, which will be inquired into lower down. Let it suffice at present to observe that Senan's establishment at Iniscatthy cannot be placed earlier than about A. D. 524, and that a certain transaction relative to him, attributed to St. Brigid of Kildare, belongs not to her but to another saint of the same name. (65)

(50) In Irish *Killmanach Drochid*, about 8 miles to the West of Kilkenny and not far from the county of Tipperary.

(51) Colgan has endeavoured to give some Acts of Natalis at *January* 27 in consequence of his having thought that he was the same as a St. Naal abbot of Kill-naile in Breffny and afterwards of Devenish, and contemporary with St. Maidoc of Ferns. Some of the Irish Calendarists make him a son of king Aengus. This cannot stand; for Molassius founder of Devenish did not die until A. D. 564; and Maidoc belonged to a late part of the 6th century. Who then will believe, that such dates and circumstances are applicable to the son of a prince, who was killed in 490? (*Chap.* VIII. §. 8.) Nor could that St. Naal be the same as Naal of Kilmanagh, who certainly flourished about the year 520. If any abbot Naal was son of Aengus, this was the person. The times agree, and the place of his residence answers very well, as it was not many miles from Cashel.

(52) In the metrical Life of St. Senan we read; "In visione

igitur. Hoc abbati praecipitur—abbati inquam Cassido—hoc jubetur a Domino—ut Senanum novitium—ad abbatem eximium—mittat *Natalum* nomine,—ut sub eius regimine—disciplinis et actibus—instrueretur plenius—fuit enim tunc temporis.—fama Natali celebris,—cum ingens congregatio—in eius contubernio—quinquaginta videlicet—et centum fratrum degeret." Then follows various particulars, which it is not necessary to repeat, relative to the proceedings of Natalis and Senan. The abbot Cassidus is called Cassidan in the prose life of Senan, translated from the Irish (*cap.* 11.) and is said to have been a native of the territory *Kierraighe Chuirke* (probably a part of Kerry), and to have then dwelt in Irras, which, as appears from said Life. (*cap.* 10.) was a maritime district in Corco-baskind, and lying to the West of Magh-lacha. (See below *Not.* 60, 61.)

(53) 4 Masters (*ap.* Colgan, *AA. SS. p.* 174 and *Ind. Chron.*) have A. 563 (*i. e.* 564). This Naal is stated to have been the same as Naal of Kilnaille and Devenish, who is said to have succeeded St. Molassius. Strange jumbling; for the death of Naal of Inver-Naal is assigned to the 27th *January* 564, while Molassius lived until the 12th of September in the same year (4 Masters *ib. p.* 192.) How then could he have been succeeded by this Naal? Archdall makes a very sorry figure in this matter. He says (at Kilnaile) that Natalis died in 563 (564); at *Inver* he tells us that Natalis, who died in that year, was abbot of Inbher-naile, also of Kilnaile, and of Devenish. Then he informs us (at *Devenish*) that Molaisse having died 12th September same year, was succeeded by St. Natalis son of Aengus king of *Connaught* (he should have said, *Munster*) who was also abbot of Inbhernaile and Kilnaile. Thus Natalis would, when dead, have been created abbot of Devenish. This absurdity, however, is a necessary result of a close adherence to certain old hagiologists, quoted by Colgan, whom Archdall followed implicitly, and to the date 664 of the 4 Masters. Either then this date is wrong; or perhaps Naal of Devenish was a different person from the one of Inver-naal. Yet they are usually spoken of as one and the same. I strongly suspect that the date 564 was originally marked for Naal or Natalis of Kilmanagh, and that, through a confusion of names, it was referred to another, who lived at a later period. Natalis of

Kilmanagh, although well known about A. D. 520, might have lived until 564.

(54) *AA. SS. p.* 174. This notation of the festival of Naal of Kilmanagh is an additional proof of his having been different from the Naal of Inver-naal, &c. whose festival was held on the 27th of of January.

(55) *Chap.* VI. §. 8.

(56) Fourth Life of St. Patrick, *cap.* 79. Colgan in a note to the Tripartite (*L.* 3. c. 46) observes that in said chapter 46 there is a various reading as to the number of years, and that one *MS.* has 26. The 40 years of the fourth Life come, I believe, nearer to the truth.

(57) This story was founded on a mistake in having misunderstood some passages in the Lives of Senan. It is to be observed that St. Patrick, having baptized a great number of the people of Thomond, who had crossed the Shannon to be instructed by him (*Chap.* VI. §. 8.) was earnestly requested by them to visit their country. The saint told them that it was out of his power to comply with their wish. On their desiring to know would they have a bishop of their own after his death, and who would be the person, he said that God would provide them with a great bishop and patron from among themselves, whose name would be *Senan*. The metrical Life has; "Interea ab incolis—Antistes venerabilis—interrogatur saepius—quis post eum episcopus—sit futurus inibi." The saint is then introduced saying; "Nascetur vobis parvulus—futurus Dei famulas,—qui et Senanus nomine—in meo stabit ordine,—mihi, Deo propitio,—succedens episcopio." From the whole context, and particularly from the second or prose Life (*capp.* 3, 4,) it is clear, that in these passages no more is meant than that instead of St. Patrick, who acted then as universal bishop of all Ireland and accordingly of Thomond, this district would have after some years a bishop of its own, and who might very justly be styled a successor of his. We could, if necessary, recur to the great maxim of the unity of the episcopacy, so well expressed by St. Cyprian; "*Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur;*" and according to which a bishop could be said to succeed other bishops although not attached to the same see. But in the case now under discussion the matter is quite plain. Yet it has been understood by some writers (see *AA. SS.* at 8

Mart. p. 542.) as if Senan had succeeded St. Patrick at Armagh. Usher, while he rejected this fable, fell (*p.* 873, *seqq.*) into a mistake almost equally unfounded. He supposed that, as Senan was spoken of as a successor of St. Patrick, the latter had been at Iniscatthy, and acted there as bishop for a considerable time. Usher must not have read the second Life of Senan, from which, as well as from the Tripartite, (*L.* 3. *c.* 46.) it is evident that St. Patrick did not visit the country about Iniscatthy, although he took care to supply the inhabitants with religious teachers. (See *Chap.* VIII. *§.* 1.)

(58) O Halloran, &c. (59) *Ant. cap.* 26. at co. Limerick.

(60) Harris (*Ant. ch.* 7.) says it was the now barony of Moyarta, in the county of Clare. Although this barony forms a part of it, Corca baskind was, I believe, more extensive.

(61) Second Life, *cap.* 1. and 6. *seqq.* *Magh-lacha* was probably in the now barony of *Clonderlach*, which lies to the east of Moyarta. There is an affinity between the names *Magh-lacha* and *Clonderlach*.

(62) *Ib. cap.* 8. The metrical Life exhibits this transaction in glowing colours, under the description of a regular war, and represents Senan as a military man by profession. The author seemed to think that there were standing armies then in Ireland.

(63) *Ib. cap.* 10. (64) *Ib. cap.* 11.

(65) We read in the second Life of Senan (*cap.* 39.) that St. Brigid, daughter of Conchraid, of the family of Mactail, who had her cell at Cluan-in-fidi on the bank of the Shannon (Colgan thinks it was near where that river receives the Fergus), had prepared a vestment, which she wished to send to Iniscatthy for St. Senan. Finding no mode of conveyance she wrapped it up in hay and put it into a basket, which she entrusted to the current of the river, after having written on it a proper direction. It is added that it arrived safe to him. In the third Life of St. Brigid of Kildare (*cap.* 115.) and fourth (*L.* 1. *c.* 81.) this anecdote was transferred to her, with this variation, that the basket or box was entrusted to the ocean, and had to pass over a very great round and extent of sea. Thus a transaction, in which there is nothing improbable, was transformed into a marvellous story, which has helped to give

rise to the opinion (Usher *p.* 874), that Senan was established at Inniscatthy before the death of St. Brigid.

§. v. We are now approaching the last days of the great St. Brigid. Her friend Conlaeth, bishop of Kildare, (66) preceded her in his passage to eternity, having died on the 3d of May A. D. 519. (67) We may reasonably suppose, that a successor was appointed, but who he was is not regularly recorded. (68) Meanwhile St. Brigid's institution seems to have spread far and wide throughout Ireland; but from the loose manner, in which the establishments belonging to it are mentioned here and there, and the great neglect of chronological arrangement in her Lives, it is impossible to fix the times either of those establishments, (69) or of the principal part of the transactions of her life, particularly after the foundation of Kildare. She is said to have been at Armagh, and nuns are spoken of as being there with her. (70) Perhaps then we may be allowed to date from her own times the foundation of the Brigidine nunnery of that city. (71) St. Brigid was constantly occupied in promoting the good of others, and some very singular instances of her miraculous powers are related, relative to her exertions for that purpose. The most eminent persons of her times either visited her or corresponded with her. Besides several already mentioned, (72) St. Ailbe of Emly used to confer with her on holy subjects, on occasion of visiting her, which he did more than once. (73) The celebrated Gildas is said to have sent her, as a token of his esteem, a small bell cast by himself. (74) Brendan, called of Clonfert, who afterwards became so renowned, waited upon her to be instructed on a certain religious subject. (75) St. Brigid was attentive to the conduct of young persons not only females, as her station required, but likewise males. Of her watchfulness in this respect an instance is given in the case of Nennidh, surnamed *Lamh-ghlan* (clean

hand), son of Ethach and a native of a place called *Muli* or *Mula*. (76) He was a student, perhaps at Kildare, when St. Brigid, happening to be with some of her nuns not far from the monastery, saw him running very fast and in an unbecoming manner. She sent for him, and on his coming up to her, which he seemed loth to do, asked him whither he was running in such haste. He replied, seemingly as if in jest, that he was running to the kingdom of heaven. I wish, said the saint, that I deserved to run along with you to-day to that kingdom; pray for me that I may arrive there. Affected by these words he requested that she would offer up her prayers for his pursuing a steady course towards heaven, and said he would pray for her and many others. She then prayed for him, and the Almighty was pleased to touch his heart, so that he did penance, and ever after led a most religious life. Next she foretold to him that he was the person, from whose hand in due time she would receive the holy viaticum on the day of her death. (77) Some circumstances are then related concerning the care he took to keep clean the hand, which was to be used on that great occasion, and whence he got his surname; and it is added that he afterwards went to Britain, where he remained until near the time that St. Brigid died. (78) The conversation between him and the saint must have occurred several years prior to her death, as he was then only a student and giddy; so that a considerable time must have elapsed before he was qualified, as a priest, to attend so great a saint at her departure from this life. He has been confounded with the celebrated St. Nennidh surnamed *Laobh-dearc (part eyed)* abbot and bishop at Inis-mhuigh-Samh (79) (Fermanagh) about the middle of the sixth century. Not only the surnames but several other circumstances plainly show, that they were distinct persons. (80) He is said to have written a Latin hymn in honour of St. Brigid, which is still extant. (81)

(66) See *Chap.* VIII. § XI.

(67) *Tr. Th. p.* 629. Ware, *Bishops* at *Kildare.*

(68) Colgan *(loc. cit.)* quotes an author, who calls Natfroich (of whom above *Chap.* VIII. §. XI.) a bishop, and thinks that he might have been bishop of Kildare. If so, he succeeded Conlaéth. Colgan adds that he *flourished* in the year 520. Archdall not only transformed Natfroich into a coachman and abbot, but changed the *flourished* of Colgan into *died.* In case Natfroich was made bishop after Conlaéth, it can scarcely be admitted, that he could have been a priest before St. Patrick's death in 465, or that it was by him he was appointed spiritual director of St. Brigid. (See *Not.* 135 to *Chap.* VIII.)

(69) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 625) reckons a heap of churches, monasteries, &c. under the name of St. Brigid. But, with regard to the far greatest part of them, it cannot be ascertained whether they were erected before or after the foundation of Kildare, (See *Chap.* VIII. §. 4.) or even after the saint's death, as, I am sure, very many of them were.

(70) Fourth Life, *L.* 2. *c.* 32.

(71) This nunnery must not be confounded with another at or near Armagh, established, most probably, by St. Patrick. (See *Chap.* VIII. §. 9.) Harris and Archdall were wrong in attributing to him also the Brigidine nunnery. St. Brigid, as already proved, was not a nun until after his death.

(72) *Chap.* VIII. §. IV. and XI.

(73) Life of Ailbe. See *Tr. Th. p.* 604. Compare with what has been said (*Not.* 43.) concerning Ailbe's cell at Clane.

(74) *Tr. Th. p.* 605. and *AA. SS. p.* 183.

(75) *Tr. Th. p.* 605.

(76) Fourth Life, *L.* 2. *c.* 61. Colgan, having patched up from various documents the Acts of St. Nennidh at 18 Jan. represents him, without however offering any solid proof, as great grandson, by his father's side, of king Leogaire. For, an Eochad, grandson of Leogaire, is spoken of in Irish history. Colgan, who was wonderfully fond of giving a princely origin to our saints, would fain make him the same as Ethach, the father of Nennidh. Then to mend the matter he says, that Nennidh is supposed to have been a disciple of St. Patrick; as if St. Patrick could have had for scholar a great grandson of a king his cotemporary, who was

most probably a younger man than himself, although he died some, not long, time sooner. Colgan is more rational in calling Nennidh a disciple of St. Fiech, as, supposing the latter to have lived until the beginning of the sixth century, Nennidh might have been at his school. A *Nanned*, (seemingly the same as *Nennidh*) is mentioned (Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 22) among some of Fiech's disciples. But Colgan *(Not. ad. loc.)* thinks he was different from Nennidh Lamh-ghlan, although in *AA. SS.* (at 18 *Jan.*) he makes them one and the same, besides contradicting himself also with regard to the genealogy of the latter. As there were in the sixth century several persons so called, no decision can be formed on the mere identity of name. As to the place called *Mula*, Colgan went quite out of his way in imagining that it was the isle of Mull to the west of Scotland, not that he supposed Nennidh to have been born there, but that he thought Nennidh, who is said to have spent some years out of Ireland, might have been in that island. But in the above quoted Life of St. Brigid Mula is mentioned in terms plainly indicating his birthplace; " Ninnidius, filius Ethach *de partibus* Mula." There are places enough in Ireland called by that name to this very day, such as Mullagh in Cavan, and Mullagh near Longford, of one or other of which Nennidh might have been a native.

(77) Fourth Life, *L.* 2. *c.* 62.

(78) *Ib.* and *AA. SS.* at 18 *Jan.*

(79) Colgan, *Acts* at 18 *Jan.* which Acts he affixed to that day in consequence of this confusion. For that, or, as others have it, the 16th of January was the festival day of Nennidh Laobh-dearc; whereas nothing is known concerning the day assigned to Nennidh Lamh-ghlan. Harris, following this mistake, placed the foundation of the abbey of Inis-mhuigh-Samh in the 5th century. Archdall calls it *Inis-mac-saint*. Of this abbey, &c. we will see elsewhere.

(80) The surnamed *Laobh-dearc* was a disciple of Finian of Clonard and contemporary with Columb-kill, &c. therefore long after the time of the conversation held with St. Brigid by Lamh-ghlan, who most probably never had a monastery in Ireland, having lived much abroad, and perhaps was not even a monk. At least, there is nothing in any of St. Brigid's Lives to make us believe that he was. Colgan found himself greatly puzzled by the

different surnames, which certainly were given to distinguish one Nennidh from the other.

(81) It has been published by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 542.) and begins with the words; "*Christus in nostra insula.*" Then after some lines we have, "*Audite virginis laudes*, &c. There seems to be some misplacement of the strophes, if we are to listen to an old Scholiast on it, quoted by Colgan, (*ib. p.* 545.) who says, that it began with *Audite*, &c. He writes; "S. Nennidius *Lamh-iodan*, id est, *mundimanus*, composuit hunc hymnum in laudem S. Brigidae, vel S. Fiechus Sleptensis. *Audite virginis laudes* est ejus initium. Vel S. Ultanus de Ardbrecain composuit, &c. *Lamh-iodan* is, as Colgan observes, (*AA. SS. p.* 115.) the same as *Lamh-ghlan*; for *iodan* is only another name for *clean*. As to Fiech's being the author, it is sufficient to remark that it can scarcely be supposed, that Fiech survived St. Brigid, after whose death that hymn was composed. Colgan was inclined to think that Ultan of Ardbraccan was the author, because he had written a book on the Acts of St. Brigid. But it does not thence follow that he wrote also the hymn. Ware's account of this hymn and author, as it appears in the English translation and in Harris, is strangely garbled. He calls him (*Writers*) *Nimidus Lainidan*, and conjectures that he was the same as the abbot Nennidh of a place in Lough-Erne, that is, of Inis-mhuigh-Samh. This Nennidh was, as we have just seen, different from Lamh-ghlan or *Lamh-iodan* corrupted, in the document used by Ware, into *Lainidan*, in the same manner as *Nennidh* into *Nimid*. If Ware, or his English translator, had not been deceived by the authority he followed, he would have known that the person, said to have composed that hymn, was called *Nennidh-Lamh-ghlan*; nor would he have spoken of two hymns instead of one, or, at least, not given to understand that the part alone beginning with *Audite* was in praise of St. Brigid; whereas the other beginning with *Christus*, &c. is equally relative to her. In Ware's Latin original Nimidus Lainidan is mentioned only under the article *Fiech*, and incidentally

§. VI. The time at length arrived, when this extraordinary saint was to receive the reward promised by God to those, who love him as she did. Nothing

particular is recorded as to the nature of her last illness, and it is merely stated that finding her end approaching, she received, a short time before her death, the communion of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ from the hand of St. Nennidh. (82) That she died at Kildare cannot be called in question, as that was her permanent residence; nor are we to listen to a tale of her death having occurred in Ulster, which was patched up on the supposition that she was buried at Down, than which nothing can be more false. (83) It is universally agreed on, that she died on the 1st of February; but in what year it is far from being decided. Some foreign writers have said, in 518; a calculation founded upon having mistaken the year of St. Patrick's death, whence Nennius reckoned sixty years to that of St. Brigid. (84) Others have the year 521; (85) but a greater number of writers maintain that the year of her death was 523. (86) The former of these two dates is solely, and the latter almost chiefly founded on wrong supputations of the year, in which St. Patrick died, and on the admission of an unproved and indeed false assumption that St. Brigid survived him exactly 30 years. (87) It must, however, be allowed that some documents would, if we were certain of their correctness, favour the latter opinion. (88) Some Irish Annals assign it to A. D. 525, a date (89) best agreeing with what Nennius has concerning the birth of Columbkill having been four years prior to the death of St. Brigid. (90) It appears to me better supported than that of 523, which is the only one that can stand any competition with it; and between the two the reader may decide for himself. As to any other dates, that have been proposed, they are scarcely worthy of consideration. With this inquiry is connected that into the number of years that the saint lived. According to some accounts she died in the 70th year of her age; according to others in the 74th. (91) This diversity

affects also the question concerning the year of her birth, which, although for the sake of convenience already supposed (92) to have been A. D. 453, was perhaps 455. (93) On these points, as they are of very little importance and do not affect the truth of St. Brigid's history, every one may follow whichever of the now mentioned calculations he thinks most convenient. This great saint is said to have written some tracts, one of which was a Rule for the members of her institution, and which, we may be sure, was a mere summary of the simple regulations universally observed by holy virgins and nuns before various Rules and different religious Orders were even thought of. (94) A letter, written in Irish, to a St. Aidus, son of Degil, concerning whom I can find no further account, is also attributed to her, besides two small pieces also in Irish. (95) It would be superfluous to enlarge on the extraordinary veneration, with which her memory has been revered not only in Ireland and Great Britain; (96) but in every part of the Western Church; (97) or to undertake a formal refutation of the impudent assertion of that pseudo-antiquary Dr. Ledwich, that St. Brigid was an imaginary saint. (98)

(82) Fourth Life, *L.* 2. *c.* 63. Nennidh, although he is said to have lived for some years in Britain, and, according to one account, even at Rome, was in all probability a member of the clergy of Kildare, and, it seems, particularly attached to the service of the nunnery. He is called simply *sacerdos* (Fifth Life, *cap.* 58) without any allusion to the monastic state.

(83) The author of the fourth Life, who lived at a time when St. Brigid's remains were supposed to be at Down (see *Not.* 18 to *Chap.* VIII.) imagined (*L.* 2. *c.* 99.) that she had been originally buried there, and accordingly that it was there or in the neighbourhood that she died. Hence the story; but it is more than sufficiently refuted by the testimony of Cogitosus, in whose days the body of the saint was still at Kildare, and indeed in a magnificent shrine. (See *Not. cit.*) It is odd that Colgan could have

hesitated (*Tr. Th. p.* 618.) on a matter so very clear. Bollandus did not. (See *Comment. praev. ad V. S. Br.* §. 6-7.)

(84) It had been said that St. Patrick died A. D. 458, (see *Chap.* VII. §. 2.) to which year if 60 be added we have 518. But, as the antecedent was false, so is the consequent.

(85) Marianus Scotus followed by Baronius, Ware, and many others.

(86) Usher, Colgan, Bollandus, &c.

(87) This story of 30 years intervening between the deaths of the two saints has been taken from the spurious tract called St. Patrick's *Testament* (see *Not.* 95 to *Chap.* VII.), in which we find the favourite division of our Apostle's years into thirties. To these was added another thirty, at the end of which St. Brigid was to bless Ireland. (Usher, *p.* 883.) Thence it got into the fourth Life of St. Brigid (*L.* 2. *c.* 99.), and became popular. Marianus Scotus, having assigned St. Patrick's death to A. D. 491, placed, agreeably to this supposition, that of St. Brigid in 521; while the sticklers for A. D. 493, following the same principle, fixed it at 523. One of these was Bollandus (at *St. Brigid*); but his successors Henschenius and Papebrochius rejected (at *S. Patric.* 17 *Mart.*) these thirty years, and made out another calculation for themselves, which cannot be admitted, placing her death in 506 or 517. Tillemont justly remarks, that they have not adduced any weighty proof for these dates, (*Mem.* &c. *Tom.* XVI. *p.* 470.) See *Not.* 25 to *Chap.* VIII.

(88) An Irish Life of St. Brigid and the Annals of Roscrea, referred to by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 619.), assign St. Brigid's death to a Wednesday. Now the first of February fell on that day in the year 523. I suspect that this notation of *Wednesday* is only an imitation of the *Wednesdays* marked for St. Patrick. (See *Chap.* IV. §. 1.) To make the parallel still stronger, it has been added that St. Brigid took the veil also on a Wednesday. Colgan builds on this notation, which Usher was either ignorant of or overlooked, and argues that it cannot be applied to any year later than 523, because, according to the fourth Life of St. Brigid (*L.* 2. *c.* 99.), she died during the pontificate of Pope Hormisdas, and therefore prior to the month of August in said year. Little reliance, however, can be placed on that passage, as we find in it nothing but confusion, St. Brigid's death being said also to have

occurred during the reign of Justinian and in the year 518, periods very different from that of Hormisdas. (See Usher, *p.* 884.)

(89) Usher observes (*loc. cit.*) that some books referred to in the Annals of *Ulster* mark the death of St. Brigid at 525. This date has been followed by the 4 Masters. (*Tr. Th. p* 619.). The Ulster Annalist himself has A. D. 524.

(90) See *Not.* 12 to *Chap.* VII.

(91) The Annals of Ulster and the Martyrologium Tamlactense have the 70th; the martyrology of Donegal the 74th. (*Tr. Th. p.* 620.) The author of the 4th Life gives her 80 years; but his statements are so contradictory that they are not worth attending to.

(92) *Chap.* VIII. §. 2.

(93) In the hypothesis of St. Brigid having died in 523, and in the 70th year of her age as the Annals of Ulster, &c. state, Usher's calculation of her birth in 453 is perfectly correct; for, whatever was the year, the day, on which she was born, was later than the first of February (see *Not.* 26 to *Chap.* VIII.); and thus, as she did not complete her 70th year, her birth must be assigned to 453. In like manner, still supposing that she died in her 70th year, which seems the best founded opinion, if she lived until A. D. 525, her birth must be placed in 455.

(94) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 3. and *Not.* 34 *ib.* A droll controversy has been carried on between the Canons Regular of St. Augustin, and the Augustinian hermits, commonly called Augustinians; each party pretending that St. Brigid belonged to the class of nuns who followed their respective institutions, or that she had taken her Rule from them. Colgan strove (*Tr. Th. p.* 620.) to please both parties. The short mode of silencing the disputants would have been to tell them, that neither of their institutions existed until some hundreds of years after the time of St. Brigid. Yet in a certain sense her Rule may be said to have been somewhat Augustinian, inasmuch as we may reasonably suppose it agreed in substance with the directions drawn up by St. Augustin for the nuns over whom his sister presided. See *Not.* 133 to *Chap.* IV.

(95) One of these two tracts is a poem on the virtues of St. Patrick; the other is entitled, *Quiver of divine love.* Colgan tells us (*Tr. Th. p.* 610) that he had a copy of them and of the letter

to Aidus. As to some works falsely ascribed to her, see *ib.* and Ware *(Writers* at *St. Brigid).*

(96) Hector Boethius writes *(Hist. Scot. L. 9);* "Effecta est ejusdem Brigidae virginis ad posteritatem celebris usque adeo memoria, ut Scoti, Picti, Hibernici, et qui illis gentibus vicinas habent sedes Angli eam inter foeminas, quas Christiana ecclesia in Sanctorum numerum retulit, *secundum Deiparam Virginem* praecipua semper habuerint veneratione. Templa Brigidae inter hos populos sacra, quot vix alicui Divorum, hujus rei certa sunt indicia." Some old Irish writers call her the second Mary, or Mary of the Irish, and, as she had contributed so essentially to the forming of children of God and brethren of Christ, another, as it were, mother of our Saviour, alluding also to his words; *Whosoever shall do the will of my Father, who is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother; Matth.* XII. 50. I have mentioned this manner of speaking concerning St. Brigid, because Colgan, who quotes *(Tr. Th. p.* 622.) several passages relative to it, has not sufficiently explained them. Alcuin in one of his short poetical pieces (No. 247.) writes;

"Virginibus sacris praesens haec ara dicata est,
Quaram clara fuit Scottorum vita per urbes,
Brigida sancta foemina, Christo simul Hafidelis,
Hac nobis salutem per suffragia sancta," &c.

(97) See *Tr. Th. p.* 623. *seqq.*

(98) *Antiq. of Ireland, p.* 378. Can any thing be more presumptuous or intolerable than to throw out such a palpable lie in direct opposition to as clear testimonies and universal consent of critics and historians as ever appeared on any subject? Not to mention the Irish Calendar and other numberless documents, St. Brigid's name is not only in the Roman martyrology, but in that of Bede, Usuardus, &c. and even in the Additions to that called of St. Jerome. It was also in ancient litanies used in the early part of the seventh century. (See *Chap.* II. §. 6.) I call this assertion of Ledwich a *lie;* for elsewhere, as it there answered his purpose, he speaks of her as having really existed. Thus Dr. Milner, not having observed the passage above referred to, was induced to suppose (*Tour in Ireland, Letter* XI.) that he did not deny the existence of St. Brigid. It is true that he did not in that part of his rhapsody *(p.* 387.) where he would fain show, in a tone of the

most profane levity and infidel-like spirit of calumny, that she was no other than a sort of Druidess appointed to take care of the holy fire in place of the heathen Druidesses of yore. Where did he find these Irish Druidesses? That the pagan Irish worshipped fire I admit; but the care of it was entrusted not to women but to men. Away then with this nonsense; and as to the Doctor's infamous assumption concerning St. Brigid and her nuns having been established at Kildare merely as preservers of fire, I will tell him that, so far from any such thing, there is not in any of her Lives nor of the very many old documents, in which her transactions are spoken of, the least allusion to such an employment or to perpetual fire. The first author, who has made mention of this fire, is Giraldus Cambrensis; and indeed he has given us stories enough about it. It was kept constantly burning in an inclosure near the monastery for, as Ware says (*Antiq. cap.* 17.), *the benefit of the poor and strangers;* to which Harris (*Ch.* 35) wantonly added, *as was pretended.* When that practice was introduced, we have no means of discovering. It was not observed in St. Brigid's time; nor did the writers of her Lives know any thing about it. On the contrary they relate, that, on an occasion of some strangers coming at night towards the monastery, St. Brigid ordered a fire to be made, and water warmed for washing their feet (Third Life, *cap.* 84. and Fourth, *L.* 2. *c.* 57.) Hence it appears that no fire was then kept constantly burning. Whatever was the system of the heathen Irish with regard to the preservation of fire, nothing occurs to prove that the practice of Kildare was in any manner derived from it; although I do not mean to deny that some remnants of Pagan customs have been observed, without however any bad intention, in Ireland as well as in other countries, and that it was sometimes even thought adviseable to allow certain such usages as being harmless in themselves, yet with the precaution of having them directed to the worship and honour of the true and almighty God. (See Gregory the great's Letter to Mellitus *ap.* Bede *Eccl. Hist. L.* 1 *c.* 30.)

§. VII. St. Derlugdacha, who had been a favourite scholar of St. Brigid, succeeded her in the government of the institution of Kildare, and is said to have survived her only a year, neither more nor less.

Accordingly her death is assigned to the first of February, (99) and must have occurred either in the year 524 or 526, according as that of St. Brigid's death may be computed. About the same time, *viz.* in the year 526, (100) and on the 13th of January, died Ailill archbishop of Armagh, after having governed that see nearly thirteen years. (101) He was succeeded by a namesake of his own, who is therefore called Ailill or Alild the second, and, like him, of the sept of Hi-Bressail. (102) St. Ailbe of Emly after a long life, the greater part of which was spent in preaching the Gospel, instructing and preparing others for the sacred ministry, (103) and in forwarding by all means in his power the good of religion, (104) was in the following year called out of this world, and his death is assigned in our Annals to the year 527. (105) The day marked for it is the 12th of September. The reputation of this holy and learned man was so great, that he was styled *another Patrick*, (106) and was reckoned among the principal fathers of the Irish church. (107) Of his writings there is still extant a Monastic or Collegiate Rule. (108) With Ailbe is usually joined Declan of Ardmore, who survived him; but how long we are not informed. To what has been already said of him (109) I have nothing to add, except that his festival was held on the 24th of July. (110) He was succeeded at Ardmore by St. Ultan son of Erc, not, it seems, as bishop but only as abbot. (111) Ultan had been a disciple of Declan, and had, before Declan called him to Ardmore, a monastery at Coning, a place apparently near Clonmel. (112) Concerning his transactions little or nothing else is known. (113) Some years prior to the death of Ailbe I find recorded that of two prelates, of whom very little is said in Irish history. One was St. Boetius son of Bronac, bishop of Monaster, or, as called from him, Monaster-boice in the now county of Louth. His death is marked at the 7th of Decem-

ber, A. D. 522. (114) The other was St. Beoadh bishop at Ardcarne in the county of Roscommon, (115) who died on the 8th of March in 524. (116) He was of royal descent, and of a very generous disposition. From the manner in which he is spoken of in the Irish Calendars, &c. it appears that he was held in high estimation.

(99) At said day Colgan has what he calls her Acts, which are meagre enough and not worth making extracts from. She is the saint whom Dempster pretended to have been a sister of St. Gunifort. (See *Not.* 22 to *Chap.* I.) Her being revered at Trisingen (*ib.*) was probably owing to her connexions with St. Brigid, whose memory was most highly respected in Germany.

(100) Usher *Ind. Chron.* Ware, &c. The Irish Annals quoted by Colgan at 13 Jan. have A. D. 525, which was the same as our 526.

(101) Ailill's incumbency is generally reckoned at 13 years. It is more probable that the 13 years were not complete, unless we should suppose that Dubtach his predecessor died before the 13th of January *A.* 513. This, however, can scarcely be admitted; and from the days, on which his memory was revered (See *Not.* 29), it would appear that he died later in the year.

(102) In consequence of those two prelates having had the same name and been of the same sept and country (Clanbrassil) some thought they were one and the same person. But Colgan (at 13 *Jan.*) shows that they were carefully distinguished in the Irish Annals, and observes that, while the memory of the former was celebrated on the 13th of January, to that of the latter was assigned the first of July.

(103) The school established by St. Ailbe has been mentioned already (chap. VIII. §. 8. 9.). Besides Colman of Dromore (above §. 1.) I find Nessan of Mungret among those, who had received instruction from him. (See Usher, *p.* 961.)

(104) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 6-7.

(105) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* Ware, *Bishops* and *Antiq. cap.* 29. In this latter place Ware says that some have put off Ailbe's death to A. D. 541. I wish he had given us the name of, at least, one of them. No such date is assigned to it, as far as I can discover,

in any of our Annals. Perhaps Ware confounded, as to this point, St. Ailbe of Emly with an Ailbe of Senchua, whose death is marked by the 4 Masters at A. D. 545 (546). See *Not.* 77 to *Chap.* v. Instead of 546, some documents might have had 541.

(106) Usher, *p.* 866.

(107) Cummian in his Paschal Epistle (*Sylloge Ep. Hib. No.* XI.), referring to the Irish fathers, has Ailbe first; "Interrogavi patres meos—successores videlicet nostrorum *patrum priorum*, Ailbei episcopi, Querani, &c."

(108) Ware, *Writers*, Colgan quotes a part of it, *AA. SS. p.* 328. I do not know, whether it has been as yet published.

(109) *Chap.* I. §. 12. VI. §. 6. VIII. §. 6.

(110) *Tr. Th. p.* 269.

(111) In Ultan's Acts at 14 *Mart* he is spoken of as merely a superior of monks. Hence it appears very probable that, although Declan is generally said to have been a bishop, there was not as yet a permanent see at Ardmore. In many parts of Ireland the bishops presiding over districts had not, in those early times, their residence attached to any particular place. (See *Chap.* VIII. §. 2.)

(112) Coning was in the southern part of Magh-femyn. (See *Not* 61 to *Chap.* VI.)

(113) Colgan's reason for treating of him at 14 *Mart.* was merely his having found mentioned at that day an Ultan Magonighe, who, as appears from the surname, was most probably a different person.

(114) The 4 Masters have 521, *i. e.* 522. *AA. SS. p.* 190. It is odd that Ware and even Harris make no mention of Monasterboice, although frequently spoken of as a monastery in our history. Boetius was a bishop; but the name, Monaster, indicating his place of residence, shows that he governed also a monastery.

(115) Archdall (at *Ardcharn*) has made him also an abbot. Yet in every document relative to him he is called simply *bishop*. Then Archdall most strangely places Ardcharn in Westmeath, notwithstanding its being well known at this day by the name of *Ardcarne*, and situated in the barony of Boyle near the county of Sligo. Colgan had observed that it was in the district of Maghluirg in Connaught; and Archdall might have easily found that this was the same as Moylurg.

(116) 4 Masters, 523, *i. e.* 524, Colgan has at 8 *Mart.* whatever he could collect concerning this saint. He tells us that his real name was Aedh or Aidus, to which *Beo*, meaning *lively* or *vigorous*, was prefixed to mark his character. Accordingly he had no right to latinize it into *Beatus*. The name of Beoadh's father was *Olcan*.

§. 8. About the time of Ailbe's death we may, I believe, place the commencement of St Finnian's famous school of Clonard. (117) The history of the first years of this most eminent and learned saint is involved in great obscurity, in consequence of anachronisms and stories that can scarcely be unravelled. (118) It is generally admitted that he was a native of Leinster, (119) but of what particular part of it we are not informed. Fintan of the race of Loschain was his father; the mother's name was Talech. They are represented as Christians; and accordingly it is related that, soon after the child was born, they sent him towards the church of Roscor to be there baptized by bishop Fortkern. The women, who were carrying him, were, it is said, met on the way by the priest St. Abban, who, having inquired whither they were going and what was their errand, undertook to baptize him, which he did at a place where two rivers unite into one, (120) Finnian, when arrived at a suitable age, received an ecclesiastical education under the bishop Fortkern. It is then added, that, when 30 years old, wishing to go beyond sea, he took leave of St. Fortkern, and, previously to his embarking for Great Britain, spent some time with the venerable Cayman of Dairinis. (121) Then, crossing the Irish sea he went to Killmuine (122) in Britain, and there had interviews with the holy men David, Gildas, and Cathmael, *alias* Cadoc. A king of that country was, we are told, induced to make him a grant of lands and even of a town; so that, having erected three churches, he remained there for 20 years. (123) As to those

pretended donations, we may pass them by; but how can this absence of 30 years be reconciled with the tenour of Finnian's life? It is not to be believed that he was more than sixty years of age when he returned to Ireland, as he would have been according to what we have now seen. (124) How long soever he had been absent, he thought the proper time was arrived for settling in his own country, and accordingly set out for it accompanied, it is said, by some religious Britons (125) who had become very much attached to him. On his passage to Ireland he stopped a while at Darinis to pay a visit to his old friend Caiman; (126) and thence continuing his voyage landed at the port of *Kille-Caireni*. (127) Thence he sent messengers to Muiredeach, (128) sovereign of Hykinsellagh, requesting permission to enter his territory. The prince, highly rejoiced at his arrival, went to visit him and, throwing himself at his feet, told him that, wherever he would wish to erect a church, he should not want ground for that purpose. Finnian then set about his mission, (129) erected some churches, and established a religious community at a place called *Achadh-abhla*. (130) Hence he went to the district of Hy-barche, and formed an establishment at Magna, (131) in which he gave lectures on the holy scriptures for seven years. It is related that on a certain occasion he preached before St. Brigid and her nuns; whence it appears that he had returned to Ireland *some years* before her death; for, according to the series of the narrative, this circumstance is placed after several other transactions of his, subsequent to his return. It is very probable that his return was prior to even A. D. 520, although he did not remove to Clonard (132) until perhaps about 530. Before his settling there, he is said to have been in some other places besides the above-mentioned; but whether truly or not, would be useless to inquire. Clonard was the scene of his greatest exertions and celebrity, and that

renowned school will be often mentioned in the sequel of this history.

(117) Usher assigns it to A. D. 520, (*Ind. Chron.*) but gives no authority for this date.

(118) Colgan acknowledges that none of the various Lives of Finnian, one of which he has at 23 February, can be called genuine. Usher had a different Life, which he has followed, together with the Office of Finnian, published at Paris by Messingham in 1620, and which Colgan has added to the Life or Acts.

(119) In one of the hymns of the office he is called, *Nativus de Lagenia.*

(120) Acts at 23 *Feb. cap.* 2. This story of Finnian having been baptized by Abban seems to have been taken from the Life of the latter, a tract full of fables, in which it is mentioned. Yet it is a ridiculous one, whereas Finnian was born many years before Abban. It may, however, help us to discover Finnian's birth place. Abban's principal residence was, as will be seen elsewhere, at Magarnuidhe near New Ross, on the river Barrow. At Ross we have the junction of the two rivers, *viz.* the Barrow and the Nore. Roscur might have been one or other of the places on either side of the Barrow, of whose names *Ros* forms a part, such as Rosberkon, Camross, &c. I would suspect that it was the same as the place called *Old Ross*, did not Colgan remark, (*AA. SS. p.* 623) that this town was in ancient times called *Ros glas*, and afterwards *Ros-mac-triun.* As to the bishop Fortkern, if there was such a person when Finnian was born, he must have been different from Fortchern of Trim (see *Chap.* VIII. §. 16.) and was in all appearance the one of Kill-fortchern in the county of Carlow. (*ib. Not.* 209.) One of Harris's unfounded additions to Ware (*Bishops, p.* 136.) is that Finnian's master was Fortchern of Trim. On the whole it seems very probable, that Finnian was born somewhere near the Barrow, not far from New Ross.

(121) *Acts, cap.* 4. St. Cayman has been already spoken of (*Chap.* I. §. 12) as contemporary with Declan. As the Darinis where he lived, is most probably that near Wexford, this circum-

stance forms an additional argument, in corroboration of what has been said in the preceding note.

(122) *Kill-muine* or *Kilmuni*, is the name always given in Irish to Menevia or St. David's in Wales. (Colgan, *AA. SS. p.* 402, and Giraldus Cambr. *Life of St. David.*) In the office for Finnian it is said that he first went to Tours, and that it was on his way back that he stopped in Britain. I mention these things just as I find them.

(123) Finnian's Office, *Lect.* 6.

(124) If we add to Finnian's age of 30 years, when he left the school of Fortkern, the time spent with Cayman and the 30 years of his abode in Britain, he must have been above sixty at the time of his departure from that country. Usher, who received as true this story of 30 years absence, (*Ind. Chron. ad A.* 520.) must also have admitted the prior 30 and more years, as being founded on the same authority. Thus then, according to his hypothesis, Finnian was, at least, full sixty years of age in 520, and so must have been born as far back as the year 460. Usher supposed that Finnian began to teach in that year; but, even admitting it, we may observe that the age of sixty is rather late in life for a man to open a school. The Acts of Finnian exhibit him as not proceeding to Clonard until several years after his return from Britain; Usher, misled by a fable (below *Not.* 132) says, not until A. D. 544. Thus Finnian would have been 84 years old when he formed the school of Clonard. The fact is, that there is no sufficient authority for the account of the 30 years absence. Colgan writes, in the margin of *Chap.* XI. of the Acts, that Finnian returned to Ireland after an absence of *eight* years. It is true that in said chapter, as edited by him, we read *thirty*; but perhaps this number was taken from the Office, whence Usher also took it, *pr. p.* 912.

(125) Two of them are particularly mentioned, Biteus and Genoc.

(126) *Acts, cap.* 12. Hence it is clear, that Finnian was not absent for 30 years, nor perhaps ten. For Caiman was already old (see *ib. cap.* 4.) when Finnian was with him before he set out for Britain. Are we then to believe, that he lived 30 years, or even half this number after that time?

(127) *Kille-Caireni* signifies the church, &c. of Cairen. I am

sure it is the church town of the parish of Carn (co. Wexford) near Carnsore point, and where Mr. Fraser says a good harbour might be formed. (See *Statistical Survey of Co. Wexford, p.* 24.)

(128) Muiredeach was grandfather to the celebrated Brandubh, who was king of Leinster in the latter part of the 6th century.

(129) In Finnian's Office we find a flourish in favour of him, where it is said that an angel ordered him to return to Ireland for the purpose of restoring the faith, which had been neglected after St. Patrick's death. In the Acts there is nothing about this neglect of religion, or of Finnian reforming the clergy, &c. as hinted in one of the hymns. He is spoken of as active in forwarding the interests of religion. As to a reform, there was no need of it at that period. St. Ailbe was still alive, as also St. Brigid, besides Enda, Mocthus, Naal, Sinell, &c. &c. Such flourishes are but too frequent in compositions of that kind.

(130) Colgan, in his loose topographical manner tells us (*AA. SS. p.* 398) that this place was in Hykinselagh, and that it was anciently called *Cro-saileach*. Archdall has it in the county of Wexford, and, I believe, justly. Colgan refers to some Irish document for a story about Finnian having lived for 16 years in that place. The Acts, however, without mentioning any number of years, seem to give us to understand that Finnian remained there no longer time than was necessary to form the establishment.

(131) Archdall places Mugna and Hy-barche in the King's county. I believe *Hy-barche* or *Bairreche* was rather the country about Carlow. Fiech, a native of this tract, was of the sept of Hy-bairreche (See *Chap.* VI. *§. 5.*)

(132) Usher quotes (*p.* 909) without any animadversion (which I think really strange) from some register of the diocese of Meath a fable concerning Finnian having got the domaine of Clonard with its farm-houses and other appurtenances from Kieran of Clonmacnois. How could Kieran, the son of a carpenter, have had possession of Clonard, &c.? This story is akin with the nonsense of the book of Navan mentioned by Usher (*p.* 957) concerning Kieran having got above 100 monasteries, &c. from Diermit king of Ireland, one of which, I dare say, was supposed to include a grant to him of Clonard, which, according to this notable docu

ment, he might have made over to Finnian. But whatever grants Diermit might have made to Kieran, they could not have been prior to A. D. 544, the first year of his reign. Now the school of Clonard had been established long before that year, and Kieran himself had been a scholar there prior to his having any monastery of his own. Usher, to prop up that fable, places the grant of Clonard in 544 *(Ind. Chron.)*, yet at A. 540 he has Kieran among Finnian's scholars. But it was, as will be seen, at Clonard that Kieran studied under Finnian. This stuff is not mentioned in the Acts of Finnian or Kieran. In the former (*cap.* 18) Clonard is represented as a sort of a desert, and the habitation of a huge wild boar, when Finnian arrived to take up his abode there. Harris, although an humble follower of Usher, omitted that silly tale, but Archdall, more faithful, has given it to the public at *Clonard*.

§. IX. In the Acts of Finnian are mentioned, as now seen, three eminent Britons, David, Gildas, and Cadocus, who, particularly the two first, are also much spoken of in the accounts of other distinguished Irishmen belonging to the period, on which we are now entering. It becomes therefore necessary to inquire into such part of their history as may help us to discover the times, in which they flourished, and to guard against various anachronisms affecting the transactions of our Irish saints. To begin with St. David, (133) I need not tell the reader that he was the celebrated bishop or archbishop of Menevia, (134) or, as now called from him, St. David's in Wales. He is said to have been grandson by the mother's side to the Irish prince Bracan or Brecan, and nephew of St. Canoc of Gallen. (135) If so, he could not have been born in the year 462, as some writers state upon an unproved supposition, that he came into the world 39 years after St. Patrick was on the point of arriving in Ireland on his mission. (136) Next we are told that, soon after his birth, he was baptized by St. Helvacus (Ailbe) bishop of Munster. (137) It will hardly be believed that Ailbe was already a bishop in 462; and we have a further indi-

cation of David not having been born so early from what is mentioned concerning his birth having been predicted by Ailbe, (138) who is said also to have superintended for some time his education. (139) Were we to believe certain rather modern writers, he would have been a bishop before A. D. 519, the year to which they assign the synod of Brevy, (140) in which David acted a conspicuous part, and his see of Menevia was declared metropolitical. But there is better authority for supposing that he did not become a bishop until about 540, (141) a date agreeing with such accounts of him as appear most worthy of credit. This date cannot be made to agree with Usher's hypothesis, which many others have followed, *viz.* that he died in or about A. D. 544. (142) For it is certain that David governed the see of Menevia for many years, although the precise number of them cannot be ascertained. (143) That he was alive after the year 560, we may justly conclude from his having died during the reign of Maelgwn or Maglocun, by whose order he was buried in his own church of Menevia. Maelgwn, from his having been prince of North Wales, was raised to the rank of king of all the Britons about said year 560; (144) and it must have been after his being advanced to this dignity that he interfered with regard to the interment of St. David. While he remained chieftain or king of only North Wales, he had no jurisdiction or power at Menevia. (145) At what period of the reign of Maelgwn, which lasted until the year 593, (146) St. David died, cannot be determined, but that it was towards the latter end of it appears from his having had for many years under his tuition St. Aidan or Maidoc of Ferns, who was only a boy in the reign of Ainmireus, king of Ireland, which began at the earliest, in the year 566, (147) and who became distinguished before David's death. On the other hand it cannot be placed after the reign of Maelgwn, *i. e.* after 593. (148) If it be true that Tuesday was the

day of his death, (149) we may, I think, with great probability suppose that the year was 589. From what has been now said concerning the time that St. David flourished it follows that St. Finnian, (150) although he might have been a companion of his in Britain, could not have been his disciple, as David was then too young to be the master of a man, who had returned to Ireland before A. D. 520. Finnian was in all probability older than David; yet I am very much inclined to think, that they studied together, at least during a part of their scholarship, in some eminent school in Britain. (151)

(133) Colgan has (at 1 *Mart.*) a Life of St. David copied from a *MS.* of the monastery of All Saints in Lough-ree (Co. Longford). Some writers imagined that it might be the same as that mentioned by Usher (*p.* 843.) as written by Ricemarchus. But they are evidently different; for the passage, and a long one it is, quoted by Usher, is not given by Colgan. Perhaps the author was Augustin Magraidin a member of that monastery, who wrote many Lives of saints. It differs but little from a Life published by the Bollandists, from a *MS.* of Utrecht: There are other Lives of St. David, concerning which the reader may consult Stillingfleet, *Antiquities*, &c. *Chap.* v.

(134) It is not my business to treat of the origin of the see of Menevia or rather the removal thither of the old see of Caer-leon in the time of David's incumbency, and which was ratified by the famous synod of Brevy. Usher (*p.* 81) and Stillingfleet (*loc. cit.*) have treated these points with much accuracy.

(135) *AA. SS. p.* 311. Of Bracan and Canoc we have seen above. (*Chap.* VIII. §. 15.) The daughter of Bracan, who was mother to St. David, is stated to have been called *Melari*, and surnamed *Nonnita*.

(136) In the Acts of St. David it is said that, when St. Patrick happened to be in the *Vallis Rosina*, in which Menevia was situated, an Angel foretold to him, that after 30 years a child would be born of the name of David, who at a proper time would have the care of that place. As St. Patrick soon after set out for Ireland, where he arrived in the year 432, Usher has hence concluded that St. David was born in 402. (*Ind. Chron.* and *p.*

443.) This calculation would answer very well, if it could be proved that the angel spoke in that manner. For as to the opinion of the writers of the Acts, viz. that David was born in 462, if, however they thought so, their authority is of little weight. I say, *if they thought so;* because we do not know whether they were rightly informed of the year of St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland. (See *Not.* 129 to *Chap.* IV.) Thus then the notation of 30 intermediate years cannot form a correct chronological datum. I do not know how it came to pass that the compilers of the Acts of our saints were so fond of the number *thirty*, as we have seen in the accounts of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, St. Finnian, &c. Jocelin gives a different turn to that prophecy, and attributing one somewhat like it to St. Patrick himself, who, he says (*cap.* 167), happening to be in Britain some years after the commencement of his mission, foretold the sanctity of St. David then in his mother's womb.

(137) *Acts, cap.* 6. Giraldus Cambrensis in his Life of St. David has, (according to the old edition) instead of Ailbe, *Relveus* bishop of *Menevia*, who, he says, had just arrived in Britain from Ireland. But, as Usher observes, *p.* 871, there was no bishop of Menevia before David himself. Yet there is no necessity for this observation, if we follow Wharton's edition in *Anglia Sacra, Tom.* 2. Giraldus' text is here *Aelveo Muveniensium episcopi*, which plainly refers to Ailbe bishop of Munster.

(138) Life of Ailbe. (See *AA. SS. p.* 431.) Ailbe's reputation was not, until about A. D. 490, so generally established as to attribute predictions of this sort to him. If then we may be allowed to build upon traditions of this kind, David's birth must be brought down to the latter end of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth. Meanwhile the 30 years, above treated of, (*Not.* 136) must be thrown out of the calculation.

(139) Usher, *p.* 871. from Ailbe's Life.

(140) Bale (poor authority indeed) quoted by Usher (*p.* 81) and followed by him (*Ind. Chron.*) places the synod in that year. Gibson, in an addition to Camden (*col.* 768) says it was held about 522. Wilkins treating of it (*Concil. M. B.* &c. Tom. 1. p. 7.) does not venture to decide on the time.

(141) Ranulph of Chester, as quoted by Usher, (*p.* 82) says that David was made bishop of Menevia in the year that Pope Silverius died, *i. e.* A. D. 540. In Gale's edition of Ranulph (XV.

Scriptorc.) I find no mention of St. David. Yet this notation, even if proceeding from an interpolator, is of old standing. The year 543 is that marked for David's promotion by the interpolator of Marianus Scotus. Others have 565, owing to a mistake in not understanding certain chronological terms. (See Usher, *ib.*) Some have assigned it to 577. (See Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae p.* 510. This is quite too late, and cannot be reconciled with any credible authority concerning his transactions.

(142) Usher, believing that David died about that period, preferred the date 544 to the 546 of William of Malmesbury, and 547 of others (see *p.* 526) because Giraldus Cambrensis hints that David's death happened on a Tuesday. Now in the year 544 the first of March fell on Tuesday. This is a good argument against any other year about that time, but not against our being allowed to suppose that David died several years later than 544; whereas the first of March fell also on Tuesday in the years 550, 561, 567, 578, 589, 595, 600, &c. Passing by Cressy and other copyists of Usher, the Bollandists, and the minor writers of Lives of Saints, and even the author of *L'art de verifier les dates* (at *Chronologie des Saints*) have adopted his computation, as if the question had been decided.

(143) It has been said, that his incumbency lasted 65 years. (See Godwin, *De praesulibus Angliae, ad Episc. Menev.*) Were there any foundation for this statement, it would overturn Usher's hypothesis, according to which, counting from 462 to 544 St. David died at the age of eighty two (*Pr. p.* 526). Now if he was a bishop for 65 years, he should have been consecrated, when only 17 years old, which no one will admit.

(144) Humph. Lhuyd *ap.* Usher (*p.* 75). Rowland (*Mona Ant.*) has A. D. 560. In Lewis' *History of Britaine* (*p.* 204) the year of this elevation of Maclawn is mentioned as, according to Vitus, the year 552, and, according to Powel, 580. Usher himself has it from Matthew Florilegus at 581. (*Ind. Chron.*) As to 552, the date is certainly too early. Lhuyd's computation is the one usually followed, and seems well founded.

(145) Usher speaks (*p.* 75 and 525) of Maglocun as still prince of North Wales, when David died. His hypothesis required this caution. And, lest it might be objected that Maglocun was not sovereign even of N. Wales as early as A. D. 544, he has affixed his accession to that year. (*Ind. Chron.*). He must also have sup-

posed that Maglocun obtained that sovereignty very early in said year, whereas St. David died on the first of March. But how could he explain that prince's issuing orders as to the burial of a person, who lived and died in South Wales? If it be said that he issued them during a certain predatory incursion (see Usher, *p.* 528) surely we are not to suppose that incursion took place in the first year of his sovereignty, nor much less prior to the first of March in said year. On the whole Usher's calculation on these dates are too much forced; and the simplest method of reconciling all the circumstances is to admit that Maglocun was king not only of North but likewise of South Wales, &c. at the time of David's death.

(146) Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) Others place the death of Maelgwn somewhat earlier. Gibson (on Camden, *col.* 825.) has *about* 586 from a *MS.* note by Vaughan on Powel.

(147) Usher, *p.* 947 and *Ind. Chron.* O'Flaherty says in 568. Of this more elsewhere. Aidan is spoken of over and over as a disciple of St. David not only in his own Life (at 31 *Jan.*) but likewise in those of David. And from the former it appears that he was already grown up when he went to study under St. David. Usher was greatly staggered by these authorities, some of which he quotes (*p.* 965). He endeavoured in vain to shake them off (*Ind. Chron.* at A. 566), first by saying that the king Ainmireus, with whom Aidan had been a hostage, was perhaps an older one of that name; and secondly by observing that what is said of Aidan's having been with St. David might be understood of his having studied in David's monastery after his death. The former evasion is truly pitiful. Where could be found in the sixth century a king of all Ireland called Ainmireus different from him, who began to reign in 566? Besides, Usher well knew that Aidan flourished in the latter end of that century, and during no small part of the seventh. The latter explanation cannot be reconciled with the passages of the Lives. They are too numerous and too clear to be got over in this manner. St. David is introduced several times as speaking to or of Aidan when in his monastery. In the Life of the former we read (*cap.* 17) that Aidan, after he returned to Ireland, sent a person to David for the purpose of guarding him against a plan formed to poison him. But Usher says, that he could not *as yet* be persuaded that David lived to the age of 147 years, or until the year 604. As to the 147 years he was right;

but had he rejected the hypothesis of David having been born in the year 462, he would have found matters easy enough. In fact that story of so great an age was patched up to reconcile the supposition of David's birth at that early period, with the real circumstance of his having lived until towards the latter end of the sixth century. As to his death being placed in 604, see the following note.

(148) Ranulph of Chester, as quoted by Usher (*p.* 82), says that David died in the same year with Gregory the great, *i. e.* A. D. 604. This date cannot agree with his having died during the reign of Maelgwn, nor with the notation of Tuesday as the day of his death. Yet it indicates a belief that he did not die until towards the time of that Pope, and very many years after 544. Others have said that his death was in the same year with that of St. Senan. This is very doubtful as will be seen hereafter. Meanwhile I shall merely observe that Senan lived to a later period than 544. Some writers have an extravagant calculation of David having lived until A. D. 642, founded upon the supposition that he did not take possession of the see of Menevia until 577, (which I find adopted by Sir R. C. Hoare, *Annot. to Itinerary, &c. Vol.* 2. *p.* 13) and that he held it for 65 years. According to this strange hypothesis he would have survived not only Maelgwn but likewise his disciple Aidan, who, it is well known, lived for several years after him. The truth is that St. David belonged wholly to the sixth century, being contemporary with the Irish saints of the second order, as will be seen lower down. As for certain biographical writers, who make him a bishop in the fifth, they are not worth attending to.

(149) Giraldus (*Life of St. David, lect.* 10.) relates that the saint foretold on a Sunday, that he would die on the third feria, *i. e.* the Tuesday following; and that so it came to pass. The same circumstances are stated in the Life published by Colgan, *cap.* 27.

(150) Finnian is not mentioned in the Lives of David; and, where in his own Acts he is spoken of as connected with him, he does not appear as a disciple of his.

(151) The school of Iltutus at Lanilltult or Lantwitt in Glamorganshire was very famous in the beginning of the 6th century. (See Usher, *Ind. Chron.* at A. 508 and Stillingfleet, *Ant. ch. B.*) There was the school of Paulinus at Witland or Whiteland ...

Caermarthen, not the isle of Wight as some have made it (see Stillingfleet *ib.*) in which St. David spent some of his early years. (*Acts* at 1 *Mart. cap.* 8.) Paulinus had been a disciple of Iltutus (Usher *p.* 472), and, considering the period, at which Iltutus' school was in vogue, could scarcely have opened his before A. D. 512. Hence we have an additional proof that David was very young about that time. In a Life of Iltutus David is mentioned, by mistake, as a scholar of his; but, as the Bollandists and Stillingfleet observe, instead of David we must read Daniel, who studied under Iltutus and afterwards became the first bishop of Bangor.

§. x. Next comes the celebrated Gildas, who, although contemporary with St. David, was, I dare say, born some years before him. His history is extremely confused, and on this account several writers assert (152) that there were two distinct persons of that name, whom they distinguish by different surnames, and one of whom died before the other was born. The elder Gildas is called by them *Albanius*, and the younger *Badonicus* from *Badon* or Bath, not that he was a native of that place, but because he was born in the year of the famous battle of Bath, in which the Britons defeated the Saxons. There would have been no necessity for this distinction, had not certain story-tellers spoken of him as being more ancient than he really was, in the same manner as they did of St. David. Thus they have told us, that Gildas was preaching in a church at a time when St. David was in his mother's womb, and, that on her entering the church, he became suddenly incapable of continuing his sermon. (153) Now, as St. David was supposed to have been born in the year 462, it was calculated that Gildas, being then a priest and a preacher, must have been born above 30 years sooner; and thus the year 425 was guessed at for his birth, and an older Gildas, different from him who was born in the year of the battle of Bath, was ushered into the world. (154) Upon this sort of foundation, the solidity of which the reader will be able to appre-

ciate, has been erected the superstructure of the two Gildases. To support this baseless fabric it became necessary to derange the history of the times, and particularly to place the battle of (155) Bath about 80 years later than it was really fought. A heap of useless calculations and conjectures has been the consequence of the attempts made to prop up the hypothesis; while after all it is quite plain, that only one Gildas is the subject of the tracts called his lives, and that there is no necessity to suppose that the Acts of two different persons have been jumbled together. (156) These lives agree as to the name of his father, *Can*, or *Coun*, (157) who, it is said, was king or chieftain of the part of N. Britain called Arecluta or Alcluid, a part of Roman Britain near the Clyde. (158) Gildas was a younger son, and brother to Hoel who succeeded his father in the principality. As to the time of his birth, it is not marked in the lives; but I find it assigned on respectable authority to the year 490, (159) a date nearly agreeing with what is said concerning the time of the battle of Bath. When a small boy he was sent to the school of Iltutus, (160) which was celebrated about the beginning of the sixth century. Having spent some years at said school, and wishing to improve himself still more both in philosophy and theology, he went to Ireland, (161) and there frequenting several schools (162) acquired a great variety and extent of learning, so as to become eminently qualified for preaching the word of God. His proficiency was such that, according to Caradoc, he was employed for some time as a teacher in the school of Armagh. (163) He remained in Ireland until he heard of the death of his brother Hoel, a most promising brave young man, who fighting against the renowned king Arthur, was killed by him in a battle fought in Anglesey. This battle, in all probability, did not take place until about A. D. 517. (164) Gildas, on his return to Britain, became soon after reconciled with Arthur, who had a great esteem

for him, and declared his sorrow for the death of Hoel. Next we find him superintending, by Cadoc's request, the school of Lancarvan for one year, (165) at the expiration of which he is said to have retired, together with Cadoc, to some small islands in the Severn or rather Severn sea, now called the *Holmes*. His reputation was then very great, and it was probably about this time, viz. about A. D. 520, that he sent, as we are told, a small bell to St. Brigid, who had expressed a wish for some token of his friendship. (166) How or where he afterwards passed his days it is not my business to inquire; (167) and it will here be sufficient to observe that all the lives agree in stating, that several years after his return from Ireland he wrote, when in retirement, those tracts of his, which are still extant. (168) In one of his lives we are told that, in compliance with an invitation from king Ainmireus, he went over to Ireland and there was employed in making certain ecclesiastical regulations. (169) The Annals of Ulster assign his death to the year 570. (170)

(152) Usher may be placed at the head of those, who distinguish two Gildases, as he has supported this hypothesis with great ingenuity. He has been followed, by Colgan, Ware, Cressy, &c. Bollandus maintains (at 29 *Jan.*) that they were one and the same person. Bale and Pits had preceded Usher; but Leland, a far better authority, has only one Gildas.

(153) This story is to be found in Capgrave's Life of Gildas, *cap.* 3. (*ap.* Colgan *ad* 29 *Jan.*) and in Giraldus' Life of David. See Usher, *p.* 443). In the Life of David, published by Colgan, the clergyman, to whom that accident is said to have happened, is not called Gildas, but simply *quidam vir sanctus*; and in the Life of Ailbe, who is said to have been present, and in which the miracle is referred to the inability not of preaching, but of offering the holy sacrifice, the person thus struck is called merely *Sacerdos*. (Usher, *p.* 871.) In course of time some legendary writer, wishing to enhance still more the greatness of David, said that the priest was Gildas.

(154) Usher, who was very apt to throw out chronological conjectures, assigns the birth of Gildas Albanius to A. D. 425. (*Ind. Chron.*)

(155) The battle of Bath is expressly assigned by Bede (*L.* 1. *c.* 16) to *about* the 44th year after the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, which he placed (*ib. cap.* 15.) in the year of our Lord 449. Thus then it was fought in 492 (as marked by Smith at *cap.* 16) or, as others calculate, in 493, or in some year about that time. Whichever was the precise year, it was also that of the birth of Gildas the historian. But no year about 490 would suit Usher's hypothesis as to the two Gildases; for by placing the birth of said historian in that period, whatever worthy of belief is said of Gildas can be easily reconciled and explained without recurring to two distinct persons of that name. Usher, accordingly affixed, with Matthew Florilegus, the battle to A. D. 520, (*Ind. Chron.*) in opposition to Ranulph of Chester, who placed it in 493. And to get over the authority of Bede he says that he mistook the meaning of Gildas, in whose tract (*De exc. Brit.*) the said 44th year is mentioned not, as Bede thought, relatively to the time of the arrival of the Saxons, but to the number of years that elapsed between the battle and the year, in which Gildas wrote said tract. To understand the question, we must quote the words of Gildas: "Et ex eo tempore nunc cives nunc hostes vincebant—usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis—quique quadragesimus quartus (ut novi) oritur (*al. orditur*) annus mense jam primo (*al. uno*) emenso, qui jam et meae nativitatis est." Gale's *ed.* The latter part of this passage is certainly of a doubtful signification and may, perhaps, be understood in the manner proposed by Usher; although it must be allowed that, if Gildas alluded to the number of years, by which the battle was prior to that in which he wrote, he would probably have applied the number 44th rather to this year than to that of the battle. Bede copied the whole passage almost word for word, except that marking the time of the battle he has, "quadragesimo *circiter* et quarto anno *adventus eorum in Britanniam*." (*L.* 1. *c.* 16.) Usher thought that Bede mentioned the year as the 44th, because he found this number in Gildas, and consequently that Bede's chronology ought to be corrected by what he supposed the true meaning of Gildas. But even admitting that Usher has rightly un-

derstood Gildas, how could he prove that Bede founded his assertion of that date merely on the Gildas' text? Surely he could not want documents to direct him in assiging the times of the more remarkable transactions of his countrymen. Might not Bede's *about the 44th year* be relative to one period and Gildas' *positive 44th* to another? so that it would be true that the battle was fought *about* the 44th year after the arrival, and likewise precisely in the 44th before the year in which Gildas wrote, making altogether, until this last date, about 87 years. Besides, Usher's argument is merely negative, and, at most, proves nothing more than that we cannot conclude from Gildas' words that the battle took place about A. D. 392. It does not, however, show that it was not fought about that time, nor help us to fix the precise year of it. If he could have laid down, upon correct authority, the time, in which Gildas wrote, his mode of arguing would be conclusive; but he had no such authority to produce, although he undertook to assign (*p.* 447) said writing to A. D. 564, merely on his unproved hypothesis that 520 was the year of the battle of Bath and consequently of the birth of Gildas.

(156) Colgan has (at 29 *Jan.*) Capgrave's life of Gildas, and another published by John de Bosco from the Bibliotheca Floriacensis, besides extracts from the life by Caradoc of Lancarvan. He calls the life by Capgrave that of Gildas *Albanius*, and the other from J. de Bosco that of Gildas *Badonicus*, of which, however, he says, a great part belongs not to him but to *Albanius*. He might have said the same of the life by Caradoc, which, with Usher, he supposed to have been intended for *Albanius*. The fact is that they were all intended as the Acts of one and the same Gildas, although we meet with, as usual, some strange anachronisms here and there. Stillingfleet was perfectly correct in saying (*Ant. &c. ch.* 4.); "Caradoc's Gildas can be no elder the Gildas *Badonicus*. Although therefore the want of skill may make Caradoc set *his* Gildas elder than he ought to have done, yet whosoever will compare that Life published by *Joh. a Bosco* with the other by *Caradoc* will find, that they were designed for the same person."

(157) Caradoc calls him Nau, but agrees in other points.

(158) Hence Capgrave says that Can was a king of *Albania*, *i. e.* N. Britain; and thus Gildas got the surname *Albanius*.

Caradoc, alluding to his own times, calls that prince, a king of the Scots. But the Scots did not get possession of Arecluta until long after the birth of Gildas. Usher changed (*p.* 676 *Ind. Chron. ad a.* 425). *Arecluta* into *Argathelia.*

(159) The Chronicon Britannicum, published from a manuscript of the church of Nantz by Lobineau (*Hist de Bretagne, Tom.* 2.) has; "A. 490. Natus est S. Gildas."

(160) In the life published by J. De Bosco we read (*cap.* 3.) "Beatus autem Gildas—a suis parentibus beato Hilduto traditur imbuendus; qui suscipiens sanctum *puerulum*," &c. Usher, well aware that his Gildas *Albanius*, whom he supposed to have been born in 425, could not have been, when a boy, at the school of Iltutus, says, (*p.* 473) that this is to be understood of *Badonicus.* He knew, however, that just before the words now quoted the father of the Gildas, who was sent to that school, is called Caun, the very man whom he himself (*Ind. Chr. ad A.* 425) makes the father of *Albanius.* Strange that Usher could think, that Iltutus was still keeping school about the year 530; for so he must have supposed according to his hypothesis of Badonicus having been born in 520, whereas it will be allowed that the pupil could not be less than nine or ten years of age when he was placed under Iltutus. Now he tells us elsewhere (*ib. ad A.* 508) that Iltutus was already an abbot when he baptized Samson, who, according to his own calculation, which he made later than I believe it ought to be, became a bishop in 521. (*ib ad An.*) Thus Iltutus must have been an abbot, at the lowest, in 491, and then, we may fairly suppose, at least 35 years old. Are we to believe that he continued to keep a school for sixty years after? Usher indeed, to serve his hypothesis, brings the death of Iltutus down to 540 by mere conjecture. Add to this that Samson, although somewhat older than Gildas, was a school-fellow of his (Life above quoted *cap.* 4. and *Pr. p.* 472). As he was a bishop in 521, how could the pretended *Badonicus*, who, as Usher would have it, was born in 520, have been his school-fellow?

(161) "Valedicens pio magistro—*Iren* perrexit, ut," &c. (said Life, *cap.* 6.) The editor J. de Bosco, not understanding the name, *Iren*, wrote in the margin that it was an academy in G. Britain, and hence a silly story was patched up about *Iren* having been the same place as Oxford. But Usher (*p.* 909) has

shown that *Iren* was no other than Ireland or Erin. Stillingfleet, who was of the same opinion, has well exposed (*Ant.* &c. *ch.* 4.) the absurdity of that Oxonian fable. From what follows concerning the proceedings of Gildas it is evident, that he studied in Ireland.

(162) "Cum *plurimorum scholas* peragrasset." (Said Life, *ib.*) Who would be fool enough to believe that there were many schools then at Oxford? In those times there were in Ireland, besides the school of Armagh, those of Ailbe, Moctheus, Enda, Naal, &c. &c. Usher, in pursuance of his hypothesis, mentions (*p.* 907) among the schools, which Gildas might have frequented, that of Finnian at Clonard; imagining that it was his *Badonicus*, who is said to have come to *Iren*, and, according to him, in the year 510. (*Ind. Chron.*) But, as will be seen presently, the Gildas, who came to *Iren*, was the same identical person, who taught for some time at Armagh, and therefore not different from him, whom Usher calls *Albanius*.

(163) Caradoc has; "Gildas *Britonum historiographus* tunc remanens in Hibernia, studium regens et praedicans in civitate Ardmaca." It is extraordinary that Usher, having quoted this passage (*p.* 859), still persisted in his hypothesis. He says (*ib.*) that the teacher at Armagh was Gildas *Albanius*. Now Caradoc makes him the same as the historian of the Britons, alluding, as Usher well knew, to his History or treatise *De excidio Britanniae*, which, being written about the middle of the sixth century, could not have been the work of the pretended *Albanius*, and is by Usher himself attributed to *Badonicus*. Thus then the Gildas, whom Caradoc so plainly describes as the one only person, is split into two by Usher.

(164) Caradoc describes Hoel as refusing to obey king Arthur, and invading various parts of South Britain. Arthur, therefore, to secure himself on the throne, found it necessary to attack him with vigour and, having overtaken him, killed him at a place now called *Carrig-Howel*, in the isle of Anglesey. The battle ought, considering these circumstances, to be placed in the beginning of Arthur's reign, which, according to Matthew of Westminster, or Florilegus, commenced in the year 516, or, as others say, 517. That it began in one or other of these years, seems generally admitted at present. (See Warrington, *Hist of Wales*, p. 69,

Rowland, *Mona Antiqua*, 2d *ed.* p. 180. *Biogr. Brit.* &c. Usher, in compliance with his system, assigns (*Ind. Chron.*) the commencement of Arthur's reign and the death of Hoel to A. D. 508; whereas he supposed that Hoel was brother to Gildas *Albanius*, whose death he places in 512. Now as Hoel was killed before Gildas died, Usher was obliged to antedate the reign of Arthur. But even admitting that it began in 508, it is truly strange that he did not at last give up his whole hypothesis. For in that year his *Albanius* was, according to him, 83 years of age, and Hoel, whom he allowed to be the elder brother, must have been still more. It is not easy to believe that a man, about 85 years old, would have volunteered on predatory excursions. Then we have the clear testimony of Caradoc to prove that Hoel was a vigorous *young* man, *magnanimus victoriosissimus juvenis*, at the time of the battle. Usher (*Ind. Chr. ad A.* 508) desires us not to believe Caradoc, as, says he, "we have shown that Hoel's brother Gildas was born in 425." Usher indeed has often said so, but has not *shown* it any where. Why thus abuse poor Caradoc, whose account of Gildas is, on the whole, very consistent, and which is so often followed by Usher himself? Why not also reject Caradoc's assertion, that Gildas was contemporary with king Arthur, who, according to Usher, was born in 493? Who would say that a man born in said year was contemporary with another born in 425? Stillingfleet has rightly observed (*ch.* 4) on Usher's hypothesis; "that when he comes to fix the times in his *chronological index*, he doth overthrow his own supposition: for Caradoc, by *his own confession*, makes Gildas contemporary with king Arthur, and he (Arthur) is said by him (Usher) to be born A. D. 493." Rowland, who also admitted two Gildases, pretends that Arthur was not as yet king, when he killed Hoel or Howel, and that the battle was fought in 505. But even this supposition will not explain, how the pretended *Albanius*, a man born in 425, could have been brother, and a younger one, to Hoel. The fact is, that Caradoc repeatedly calls Arthur *king of Britain*, where he treats of the cause of the quarrel, battle, &c. Capgrave likewise calls him *king* on that occasion. It would be going too much out of my way to enter into an investigation of the perplexed history of Arthur; and I will only observe that, as the Welsh bards made him their hero on every occasion against the Saxons,

it came to be believed that he commanded at the battle of Bath. Next it was suppsed that he commanded there as king. Hence Matthew of Westminster, having assigned the beginning of his reign to A. D. 516, placed the battle in 520. Thus Gildas' birth was placed in that year, and so he came to be born after his brother's death, and after he had been teaching in Ireland. To get over these absurdities recourse was had to the paradox of the two Gildases. The true method, however, would have been to reject the story of Arthur having commanded as king in that battle; in which several writers with much greater appearance of probability assert that the general in chief was his uncle Ambrosius Aurelianus, who reigned in Britain until very near the end of the fifth century (Usher, *p.* 447) and consequently might have been present at the battle of Bath. And, if any one choose to maintain, that Arthur fought in that battle, nothing more is requisite than to assign, as I believe ought to be done, his birth to some years prior to 493, the one laid down by Usher; and to say, with William of Malmsbury (*De gest. reg. L.* 1. *c.* 1.) that Arthur was a warlike young prince before the death of Ambrosius. Nennius (*Hist. Brit. cap.* 62, 63) has Arthur at the battle of Bath as a *general* not *king*. "Arthur pugnabat contra illos in illis diebus, videlicet Saxones, cum *regibus* Britonum; sed ipse *dux* erat bellorum." And the *Chronicon Britannicum* quoted above (*Not.* 159) mentions Arthur as a brave man about 490, at which year we read; "His diebus fuit Arthurus fortis." According to these statements, which are, at least, as worthy of credit as those followed by Usher, it will follow that he has placed Arthur's birth too late; and it is not easy to believe that, as Ambrosius was old enough in the year 455 (*Ind. Chr.*) to be a general, Arthur the eldest son of his brother Uther was not born until 493. In whatsoever manner the history of this champion may be arranged, it is certain that the real and only Gildas was born many years prior to 520; a fact, which cannot be weakened by the entangled and contradictory statements concerning the times and feats of Arthur.

(165) Usher, still persisting in his hypothesis, makes his Gildas *Albanius* the person thus superintending Cadoc's school, and assigns this circumstance to A. D. 508 (*Ind. Chron.*) so as to find room for that year and some other transactions before 512, in

which he places the death of *Albanius*. To prepare us for this calculation he had previously stated that Cadoc flourished in the year 500 (*ib.*) But it will be soon seen that Cadoc could not have flourished so early, nor scarcely have had a school in 508. Even admitting that Cadoc's school existed in that year, it is odd that Usher would fain make us believe that a man 83 years old, as his *Albanius* must have been at that time, would have undertaken such a troublesome task.

(166) See above §. 5. Usher, sticking as usual to Gildas *Albanius*, assigns this affair of the bell to the year 484. (*Ind. Chron.*) But the Life (J. de Bosco) which mentions this transaction, and which Usher himself quotes (*p.* 905), has it *after* the *return* of Gildas *from Ireland*, and therefore, according to Usher's own calculation, later than 508. Now, if it had taken place in 484, it should have been *prior* to the *arrival* of said *Albanius* in Ireland, whom Usher does not bring among us until about 498. (*Ind. Chron.*)

(167) Caradoc says that he went to Glastonbury, and that he spent the remainder of his days partly there, and partly in the neighbourhood. Capgrave also sends him to that place, after, however, a previous tour to Rome. The life (*ed.* J. de Bosco) makes him go to Britanny, when thirty years of age, and the Chronicon Britannicum, published by Lobineau, assigns his arrival in that country to A. D. 520, a date, according to which, compared with that of his birth (See *Not.* 159) he would have been in said year exactly of that age. In the life (J. de Bosco), a thorough huge chronological blunder, Childeric son of Meroveus, is mentioned as king of the Franks, when Gildas repaired to Britanny. As Childeric reigned about the middle of the fifth century, Usher seized upon this anachronism, and tells us (*p.* 444) that it was his *Albanius* who went, at the age of thirty, to that country. But elsewhere it is his *Badonicus*, whom he often exhibits as passing several years in Britanny. Thus, when we read in said Life, immediately after the account of Gildas' arrival there, that ten years afterwards he, being still in Britanny, wrote his *querulous epistle* against the British kings, &c. Usher (*ib.*) exclaims that the author of the Life confounded the two Gildases together, whereas it was his *Badonicus* that wrote the epistle. Instead of recurring to this charge against that author, as he and

Colgan often do, it would have been more fair to impute to him a chronological mistake with regard to Childeric than to accuse him of having confounded in the same breath two distinct persons. And observe that this is the author, on whom Usher mainly depends for *Badonicus*, notwithstanding his agreement in so many points with Caradoc, the biographer, as he thought, of *Albanius*. The British Chronicle has no allusion to the arrival in Britanny of any Gildas but one, or to any circumstances indicating a second person of that name.

(168) We have just seen, that in the Life (J. de Bosco) Gildas is said to have written his *Querulous epistle* ten years after his arrival in Britanny. Usher, following his explanation of Gildas' 44th year, and his date for the battle of Bath, states that Gildas wrote it in the year 564 (above *Not.* 155). He supposed (of which lower down) that said tract and the history or treatise, *De excidio Britanniae*, are not two distinct works, but only component parts of one and the same. But the Epistle must have been written many years before that time, whereas Gildas, about the beginning of it, informs us that he wrote it in the year in which Constantine, successor to Arthur, murdered the two sons of Modred, or, as others call him, Medrod. This was, according to Matthew of Westminster in the year 513, and must have happened about that time; whereas those young princes had taken up arms to avenge the death of their father, who was killed in the battle of Camlan, A. D. 542. Usher, who admitted that Constantine became chief King of the Britons in 542, and that he reigned only three years, was greatly puzzled by these dates, and has endeavoured (*p.* 537, and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 542) to make out a distinction between this Constantine, and the Constantine whom Gildas inveighs against, and whom (Usher says) he seems to speak of as only king or tyrant of Damnonia (Cornwall). It is not easy to understand Usher's meaning on this point, and it would appear as if he intended to show that Gildas was inconsistent with himself. Now in the first place the Constantine of Cornwall was the very person, who became chief sovereign after the death of Arthur (See Warrington, *p.* 79 and Rowland, *p.* 181). Secondly, Gildas was not inconsistent in alluding to him as the tyrant of Cornwall, or in mentioning other British kings as contemporary with Constantine. For, Constantine's being appointed chief of

the league did not deprive the other princes of their hereditary rights. As then the Epistle was written about the year 543, Usher's hypothesis concerning the battle of Bath in 520, combined with his explanation of the 44th year mentioned by Gildas (See *Not.* 155) falls to the ground. Between 520 and 543 there were only 23 years; and we may be sure that Gildas was of a much greater age than 23 when he penned that terrible epistle. It will also follow, that Gildas did not arrive in Britanny as early as A. D. 520 (See *Not.* 167), if it be true that he wrote the epistle about ten years after. But I strongly suspect that these ten years ought to be taken relatively not to the epistle but to the history or tract *De excidio Britanniae*, which appears to me a complete work in itself, distinct from the Epistle, and, I believe, written several years sooner. What is said of them is founded on Gildas' own words in his preface to the history, where he tells us that for *ten years or more*, previous to his setting about it, he had been silent; "*spatio bilustris temporis vel eo amplius.*" In said preface Gildas gives a summary of its contents, which corresponds exactly with what we find in it alone, without at all alluding to the subject matter of the Epistle, although a larger work than the history. He says that he composed it in a mournful style, suitable to the sad state of his country. Hence it has been entitled, "*De excidio Britanniae Liber querulus,*" that is a *Book of lamentations*, &c. and so it really is. The adjunct, *querulus*, led to the mistake of joining it to the epistle, which was also called *querula*, because it is full of complaints. It should, however, be rather called *Epistola satyrica* or *flagellans*, as it contains most tremendous invectives against the princes and clergy of Britain. Now, referring those ten or more years to the history alone, we may suppose that this tract was written not long after A. D. 530; and so Usher's interpretation of the 44th year may still be adopted, yet with this proviso that the battle of Bath and accordingly Gildas' birth be assigned to about 490. The title of *British historian*, as he is called in *all the lives*, was given to Gildas in consequence of his being the author of these works, particularly that *De Excidio*, &c. which in his preface he calls "*qualemcumque gentis Britannicae historiolam.*" To get rid of the argument deduced from this title and proving that there was but one Gildas in those days, the sticklers for the pretended *Albanius* invented a fable

concerning his having written a *history of the British kings*, and thus have given us two Gildases historians instead of one. Strange that Ware (*Writers* at *Gildas*) could have copied this nonsense.

(169) In the Life (J. de Bosco), the only one that has Gildas in Ireland in the reign of Ainmireus, a pompous account is given of his exertions, and of the extraordinary benefits thence derived to the Irish church. The silly author, to enhance the glory of his hero, says that the people of Ireland had lost the Catholic faith, and that Gildas brought them back to it. The falsehood of this ridiculous fable is too palpable to require a refutation. Usher has shown (*p.* 907) the absurdity of it; and Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 189 *segg.*) gives a long succession of saints and eminent ecclesiastics, who were in Ireland at that period, viz. about A. D. 467, as likewise before and after it. It was in Ireland that Gildas himself acquired his chief store of ecclesiastical learning, as that same author has recorded. (See *Not.* 161) Usher has well observed that this flourish in favour of Gildas is as foolish as another in that life, where we are told that Gildas preached throughout the whole country of the Angles or Anglo-Saxons. That Gildas was in Ireland at the time above-mentioned is not improbable, whereas he was contemporary with many Irish saints of the second class, whose times comprized the short period of Ainmireus' reign. And it will be seen that, together with others, he was engaged in regulating the liturgy and some other matters of church discipline in Ireland.

(170) Usher, *(Ind. Chron.)* According to the life last referred and the Nantz Breviary (*AA. SS. p.* 176) Gildas died in the small island *Horata* or *Hoata*, now *Houat*, whither he had retired, not long before his death, and when *very old*, from his monastery of Rewisius, now *St. Gildas de Ruys*. This monastery is in the diocese of Vannes, and opposite to the isle Houat. (See H. Vales. *Not. Gall.* at *Reumvisius.*) The Glastonians, according to their usual mode of robbing other places of their saints, pretended that he died near Glastonbury and was buried in that monastery. Accordingly we find this story in William of Malmesbury (*De Ant. Glaston.*) and in the lives by Caradoc and Capgrave. To this they added that his death occurred in the year 512. Usher and his adherents apply these accounts to their Gildas *Albanius;* but the Glastonians understood them otherwise. For it was the body of

Gildas the *historian*, which they claimed as resting among them; the *Britonum historiographus*, as one of their chroniclers writes (Usher, *p.* 471); the Gildas *neque insulsus neque infacetus historicus*, as William of Malmesbury calls him; and whom also Caradoc and Capgrave exhibit as the historian. As to the date 512, it was brought forth to add to the antiquity of the monastery. Usher, having unluckily adopted it, bewildered himself in useless and contradictory calculations. In consequence of his distinguishing two Gildasses, and placing the birth of his *Badonicus* in 520 he has induced several writers to lay down that the real Gildas died when only 50 years of age, whereas it is expressly stated, as we have just seen, that he was very old at the time of his death. I shall now conclude this long and tiresome discussion with referring to Gale, the able and accurate editor of Gildas' tracts, who, as appears from his general preface (*ad XV Scriptores*) knew of only one Gildas in those times, however marked by various surnames or epithets, and of whom he writes; "*Gildas historicus, Albanius, Badonicus, Sapiens* (*tot enim innotuit titulis*) *Iltuti discipulus*," &c.

§. XI. The third eminent British saint of those times was Cadoc or Cadocus, or, as he is named in some Irish documents, *Docus*. He was contemporary with St. David and Gildas and a near relative of the former, whereas their mothers were sisters, (171) both daughters of the Irish prince Bracan, of whom we have treated elsewhere. (172) Accordingly Cadoc was nephew to St. Canoc of Gallen. His father was Gundlaeus son of a king of South Britain, and chieftain of a part of what formed his father's kingdom. (173) As Cadoc was grandson to prince Bracan, his birth cannot be placed earlier than about the latter end of the fifth century. (174) When a boy he was entrusted to the care of St. Tathaeus or Thaddaeus an Irishman, who kept a celebrated school at Caer-went in Monmouthshire. (175) Having completed his studies at that school he went to the district of Glamorgan, and established a religious house, since called the monastery of Lancarvan, near

the Severn and about three miles from Cowbridge. Meanwhile his father Gundlaeus had retired from the world and given up a considerable portion of his lands to Cadoc, whereby he became enabled to maintain a great number of poor students and to exercise hospitality, besides providing for the poor in general. We have seen that Gildas assisted him for one year in the direction of his school or academy, and that they afterwards remained together for some time in a small island. Cadoc must have afterwards resumed the care of his monastery and school, whereas we find that St. Canice, who was born in the year 516, or, as others say, 527, was a pupil of his. (176) He died the same year as Gildas, viz. A. D. 470, in his own monastery of Lancarvan, in the government of which he was succeeded by Ellenius one of his principal disciples. (177)

(171) In the Acts of Cadoc published by Colgan (at 24 *Jan.*) Cadoc's mother is said to have been Gladusa daughter of Bracan and sister of Melari the mother of St. David.

(172) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 15.

(173) *Acts* at 24 *Jan.* and Usher *p.* 464.

(174) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 15. Usher was forced by his hypothesis concerning Gildas Albanius to say that Cadoc flourished in the year 500 (See *Not.* 165). This date cannot be reconciled with what is said of his family connexions, nor with the series of his transactions.

(175) Tathaeus set up that school on the invitation of king Caradoc son of Inirius. Usher seems to place (*Ind. Chron.*) the commencement of it between A. D. 469 and 474. Camden was mistaken in calling (*col.* 741) Tathaeus a British saint, whereas in his Life, by Joh. Tinmuthensis, quoted by Usher (*p.* 92) he is expressly called an Irishman.

(176) The venerable British abbot, under whom St. Canice studied, is called *Docus*. (See Usher, *p.* 952.) I believe there can be no doubt that he was the same as Cadoc of Lancarven. In like manner the contemporary of David and Gildas, as likewise of the Irish saints of the second class, appears under the name of

Docus, and was certainly the same as the master of Canice. Who could this distinguished man have been except Cadoc of Lancarvan? There is no mention in the church history of Britain, as far as I can discover, of any eminent person in those days, called simply *Docus*; and, *vice versa*, our Irish writers do not mention *Cadoc* as celebrated at that period. Hence it is fair to conclude, that Docus and Cadocus were the same. A person well versed in the old British language might, I dare say, be able to show that the names are in reality not different. Usher has overlooked this point. It would not have suited his system to make Docus the same person as Cadoc. For he knew that Docus flourished in the middle of the sixth century; while, on the other hand, he assigned Cadoc to the beginning of it. There is a fable concerning Cadoc's having left his monastery and gone to Beneventum in Italy, where he became bishop under the name of *Sopkias*. Usher, true to his hypothesis, assigns this notable occurrence to A. D. 514 (*Ind. Chron.*), while others place it in 567. (*AA. SS. p.* 160.) This foolish story was probably founded on mistaking Beneventum for a place in Britain called *Benaventa*, whither Cadoc might have gone on some occasion; or, as Cressy observes (*Church Hist. &c. Book x. ch.* 21.) on the having confounded Cadoc of Lancarven with another Cadoc or Sopkias martyr at Beneventa or *Banaventa*, as Camden calls it, and which he thought (*col.* 531) to be the same as Wedon in Northamptonshire. Be this as it may, Usher had no authority for making Cadoc quit his monastery in 514. Another story, less silly indeed, is that of Iltutus having retired from the world through the exhortation of Cadoc (Usher, *p.* 472). Iltutus was undoubtedly prior to Cadoc, particularly if, as the same authority states, he had been a disciple of St. German of Auxerre. His having been Gildas' master is sufficient to show, that Cadoc was a junior, compared with him.

(177) Harpsfeld, and Pits, Colgan *ap. AA. SS. p.* 159. Cressy draws (*loc. cit.*) an objection against the date assigned by Harpsfeld from its having been somewhere said that Dubricius was present at Cadoc's death. This is one of the usual anachronisms relative to those old times, according to which eminent men of different periods are spoken of as contemporaries. Usher (*Ind. Chron. ad* A. 514) mentions Ellenius as placed over the monastery

on Cadoc's pretended departure for Beneventum, which he himself considered as fabulous. (See *Pr. p.* 471.)

§. XII. To the account now given of David, Gildas, and Cadoc, we may add that in those times, and for several years previous, a great intercourse was kept up between the religious persons of Ireland and those of both Great Britain and Britanny; so that, while Irishmen repaired to either of the latter countries, many pious Britons used to spend a great part of their time in Ireland. Besides the many instances we have met with already, we find that Petranus, a nobleman of Britanny, and father of the celebrated St. Paternus, retired to Ireland about the beginning of the sixth century and there led a most holy life. (178) Paternus also visited Ireland and remained there for some time. (179) Petrocus a native of G. Britain, from whom Petrock-stow, now *Padstow*, in Cornwall, has got its name, spent twenty years in Ireland applying himself to the study of the scriptures and to the acquirement of general knowledge. (180) On the other hand St. Renan, an Irish bishop, retired to Britanny about the latter end of the fifth century for the purpose of leading a solitary life, which he did chiefly in the forest of Nevet in the territory of Cornouaille then governed by Count Grallo, who held him in very high consideration. (181) St. Sezin or Sezni also a native of Ireland, and a bishop, is said to have died in Britanny A. D. 529. (182) St. Jaova or Jovin studied in G. Britain under his maternal uncle Paul, one of the disciples of Ilutus. Having returned to Ireland he embraced the ecclesiastical state. On being informed that his uncle had gone to Britanny, where he became first bishop of St. Pol de Leon, (183) Jaova went over to that country and there spent the remainder of his days, partly in the government of a monastery and partly in the administration of said see. (184) Of the

visits of Brendan of Clonfert and others to either Britain, we shall see hereafter.

(178) Usher, *p.* 528. (179) *Ib.*

(180) "In Hiberniam proficiscens, litterarum disciplinis et sacrae scripturae viginti annis se mancipavit—praeceptores eximie doctos excoluit—Hibernicas gazas in Corniam seu Cornubium transtulit, et videndas omnibus exhibuit. (See Usher, *p.* 564 and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 518.)

(181) Lobineau, *Hist. de Bretagne, Tom.* 1. *p.* 73 Grallo must have lived about the latter end of the 5th century, as he was the founder of the abbey of Landevenec, the first abbot of which was St. Winwaloe or Winwalloc, who was born not long after the arrival of the Britons in Armorica, and therefore, according to Lobineau's calculation about A. D. 458; and whose death Usher, (*p.* 464 and *Ind. Chron.*) assigns to A. D. 504. St. Renan was most probably the same as Renan the monk, who has, through mistake, been said to have been contemporary with St. Martin of Tours. (See Usher, *p.* 1043.)

(182) See *Not.* 5 to *Chap.* VI.

(183) Usher places (*Ind. Chron.*) the accession of Paul to that see in the year 529.

(184) Colgan has (at 2 *Mart.*) the Acts of St. Jaova from Albert Le Grande. In them a St. Kenan is mentioned as appointed by Jaova to administer the parish of Plou-kernan in that diocese. He was perhaps the Kenan spoken of by Usher, as we have seen elsewhere. (*Chap.* VII. §. 6.) Lobineau merely touches upon (*p.* 76) a St. Eutlam, supposed to have lived about those times in Britanny, son of an Irish king, of whom, he says, incredible things are told.

§. XIII. Colgan assigns to the year 522 (185) the death of an Irish hermit named Paul, who is said to have been a disciple of St. Patrick or rather of Fiech of Sletty. That there was a person of that name at Fiech's school I do not mean to deny; but the prodigious stories concerning his manner of subsisting in a certain island, and the great age, to which he has been made to live, exceed all bounds of probability,

and render any inquiry into his history useless. (186) St. Carnech, who, according to Colgan, died about 530, is better known in Irish history, although no detailed account remains of his transactions. (187) He was of the princely house of Orgiel and maternal grandson of Loarn the first chief of the Irish or Scottish settlers in N. Britain. As his mother was sister to Erca, he was therefore first cousin to the then king of Ireland Murchertach. (188) He was abbot, and bishop, somewhere to the West of Lough-foyle and not far from Lifford. (189) Little more is known about him. Yet his memory has been held in high veneration; (190) and two brothers of his, Ronan and Brecan, are likewise reckoned among the Irish saints. The king Murchertach did not long survive his cousin St. Carnech, having been put to death, in a most cruel manner, in the year 533, or 534. (191) He was succeeded by Tuathal the second, a great grandson of Neill Neigilliach by his son Corpreus. Tuathal reigned for 10, or, as some say, 11 years. (192) At the time of Tuathal's accession to the throne the archbishop of Armagh was Alild the second, of the same family as his immediate predecessor likewise called Alild, (193) who died on the 13th Jan. A. D. 526 after an incumbency of 13 years. (194) Of other bishops then in Ireland we have scarcely any authentic account, although it is certain that there were many. Tigernach of Clones was still alive. Lugadius was, in all probability, already bishop of Connor, as he died as early as the year 538. (195) Of some others, who might have been bishops in those days, we will see lower down. I will now conclude this chapter with reminding the reader that St. Moctheus of Louth, most probably the last surviving disciple of St. Patrick, and whom we have often met with, (196) died in the year 535, and, it seems, on the 19th of August. (197)

(185) *Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.*

(186) Colgan has (at 25 *Jan.*) what he calls the Acts of this Paul. The greater part of them is nothing else than a corrupt and ridiculous imitation of the history of St. Paul of Egypt, the first hermit; with this difference that, instead of a continental desart, the Irish Paul is made to pass his lonely days in a desart island.

(187) Colgan gives (at 28 *Mart.*) whatever he could collect concerning St. Carnech.

(188) See above §. 2.

(189) Colgan thinks that his monastery and residence was at a place called *Cruachan-ligean*, or near it, on the western bank of Lough foyle. He adds that it was perhaps at Cluain-laodh, now now *Clonleigh*, in that neighbourhood, which has at present a parish church. But elsewhere (*Tr. Th. p.* 495) he reckons the monastery of Cluain-loadh among the foundations of Columb-kill, and places there Lugadius one of his disciples. Archdall (at *Clonleigh*) imagined that it might be the same as Cruachan-ligean. Colgan, however, speaks of them as two distinct places not far from each other.

(190) Besides the mention made of him by our Hagiologists, his name occurs in the old Anglican litany published by Mabillon. (See *Chap.* II. §. 7.) Colgan observes, that he must not be confounded with a British saint Carantoc, *alias* Cernach, who lived chiefly in Ireland. (See Cressy, *B.* IX. *ch.* 8.)

(191) Above *Not.* 25. See O'Flaherty, *Carm. Chronograph.*

(192) Usher, (*p.* 947) and Ware *Ant. cap.* 4.) O'Flaherty, in consequence of his calculations (*Ogyg. Part.* 3. *c.* 93) gives him eleven. The 4 Masters and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 447) agree with Usher and Ware as to the number of years, but, adhering to their dates, make his reign begin in 527 (528).

(193) See above §. 3.

(194) Ware, *Bishops*, &c. He assigns the death of Ailild to A. D. 526, as does Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 293) who, however, following the old Irish mode of anticipating the vulgar era, calls that year 525. Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) agrees with Ware, although he seems elsewhere (*p.* 874) to place it in 527. As Ailild (the first) died so early in the year as the 13th of January, it is very probable that his incumbency, which had begun in 513, did not last full 13 years.

(195) *AA. SS. p.* 191. It is a sad consideration that of many

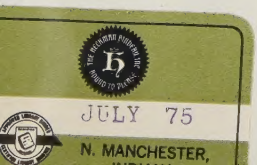
of our prelates little else has come down to us than the dates of their death. And concerning many more we do not know even that much. This, however, is a misfortune not peculiar to the history of the Irish church.

(196) *Chap.* VI. §. 12. VII. 7. VIII. 8.

(197) Colgan states (*AA. SS. p.* 732) that the memory of St. Moctheus was celebrated on, at least, two days in the year, viz. March 24 and August 19. The latter day is that, to which the Annals of Ulster and the 4 Masters affix his death. Archdall (at *Louth*) has A. D. 534, not reflecting that, although this number appears in the Annals, it was the same as 535 of the Vulgar era. Allemand fell (*Hist. Mon. &c. Introd. p.* 19.) into a huge mistake with regard to Moctheus, placing him at Ferns and thus confounding him with Moedoc or Aidan, who was not born until after Moctheus' death.

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